

The Evolution of the
Theory and Doctrine of the Church in England,
as Exemplified by
Ockham, Wyclif, and Cranmer.

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(Copy)

5th February 1923.

Dear Sir,

I have pleasure in informing you that the Senatus has admitted you as a student under the Ph.D. Ordinance, the subject of your study to be "The Evolution of the Theory and Doctrine of the Church in England, as exemplified by Occam, Wyclif, and Cranmer", the work to be carried on under the supervision of Professors Watt and Mackintosh, and the period of study to extend over at least two years from 1st October 1922.

I am,

Yours faithfully

(Signed) Thos F. Harley

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FOREWORD

A word of explanation is necessary, in beginning, regarding the sense in which certain terms in the title of the present thesis are used, and also concerning the ultimate object of this study.

In the expression, "Theory and Doctrine of the Church", the words "Theory" and "Doctrine" will be considered for present purposes as practically synonymous, and will be used to express in more exact fashion what is usually understood in the general term "conception". It is quite possible in a discussion such as this to consider these terms as indicating separate aspects of the Church - which, strictly speaking, they do. But the present work will not be concerned with such a distinction; rather it will undertake a study of the Church as an institution in mediaeval society. There will therefore be no effort made to develop the Theology, Soteriology or Eschatology of the Mediaeval Church, but attention will be given only to the things that may properly be termed Ecclesiology. What the Church's conception was of its authority, its membership, its discipline, its ministry, its social duties, its political rights and obligations: these indicate the direction to which the present investigations shall tend.

Furthermore, the writer is faced at the very outset by the problem of estimating the individual contributions of three men to the theory and doctrine of the Church; and also

of discovering the worth and distinctive features of each. In this case two methods were possible: either first, to build the thesis upon the work of the three men alone, and introduce as a parenthesis the previous development in the theory and doctrine of the Church as it was needed; or it was possible to give at the outset, before undertaking a study of the individuals and their contributions, a résumé - necessarily very brief - of the evolution of the ideas until the time when the first of the three makes his contribution. The writer has chosen the latter alternative as being more conducive to unity, and therefore the first two chapters of the thesis will be given to tracing briefly the development of the theory and doctrine of the Church, first in general, and then particularly in England.

Finally, the writer feels the necessity of limiting the scope of the present undertaking.

It is necessary to limit the examination of the attributes implied in the historic concept, "Church", for about this idea were centered during the early middle ages almost every worthwhile challenge to human endeavor and practically every great movement in thought or in the formulation of its expression. The present treatise cannot hope to exhaust, for instance, the great problem of the Nature of the Church; or that of the Theory of the Church in general, in relation to the nations and civilizations it touched, and the inevitable conflicts it engendered by the opposition of its theories to those of the various States; or that of the Doctrine of the

Church, as its councils and synods step by step framed its policy and defined its symbols and terminology.

Moreover the present work cannot consider the rise of the idea of Political Liberty as emanating from the Church and the better expression of her ideals through the centuries. The struggles of the Abbigensés, the Waldensés, the Wyclifites and Lollards, the Hussites, and the leaders of the Reformation: these must be committed to the more specialized investigation of scholars such as Professors A. J. Carlyle; James Mackinnon, and others.

Further, the writer must disclaim any desire to discuss the antecedents, through the period included in this work, for either an Anglican or non-Conformist theory of the Church, or any particular discipline. The fact that Archbishop Cranmer, the last of the three personages studied in this work, was a joint-founder of a particular denomination must be subordinated to the idea more important for our present purposes of his contribution to the thought and policy of the Church in his day.

Finally, it is not the purpose of the present work to attempt complete monographs upon any of the persons under consideration. A very casual examination of the materials available, for instance, in the case of Ockham, reveals the fact that no comprehensive and scientific treatise concerning him or his influence can be written until all the materials available have been examined, subjected to strict scientific analysis, and properly edited in texts which are intelligible and accessible.

Lest it should be thought that the field is unduly limited and materials unnecessarily excluded, it should be said that the present work proposes to trace some of the ideas inherent in a conception of the theory and doctrine of the Church through the processes of their development in the life of the English people, estimating as nearly as possible the nature and importance of the contributions of Ockham, Wyclif, and Cranmer to the Church as he found it in his day. The selection of these three men as characteristic of the age in which each lived may not have been an entirely happy one. Perhaps in either the first or third instance another man could be found more truly representative of the time and school of thought. But the present choice is not without purpose; for, whatever the degree of success attained in revealing it, the writer has found for his own satisfaction such references and connections as lead to the conviction that there is an historic connection between the thought and work of these three great men.

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I

THE MEDIAEVAL CHURCH

A BRIEF SURVEY OF THE EVOLUTION OF THE
MEDIAEVAL CHURCH UNTIL THE TIME OF WILLIAM OF OCKHAM

A. DEVELOPMENT OF THE MEDIAEVAL CHURCH.

The development of the theory and doctrine of the mediaeval Church in England - or in any country - is scarcely comprehensible apart from the social and political circumstances in which it necessarily existed. Details of belief or practice varied with individual nations, but essential principles remained the same for Christendom, and Christianity from the very beginning required definite habits of thought. The stern remonstrance it offered to the pagan practices of the Caesars earned for it at the very beginning the suspicion and ultimately the opposition of the Imperial government. But through bitter injustice and persecution the Church continued unwaveringly along the path of civic and political conduct it had marked out for itself. Its tenacity of purpose and rapid growth soon challenged the position of domination that the Emperor occupied in the State, and men came gradually to entertain the idea of a possible dualism of rank between the State and the Church, and of a like responsibility for each and obligation to each on their part. Then the State officially adopted Christianity as its religion; and though this act was largely declarative (1), yet the conviction increased that

1. The Emperors Honorius (395-423) and Valentinian (423-455) were obliged to limit the operation of such laws to admit pagans to important offices, and were forced to discontinue the destruction of pagan temples.

there was a double obligation resting upon the citizens.

But at a time when the Western Church and the Roman State were beginning to occupy positions of almost equal importance in the eyes of the citizenry, the invasion of the Western tribes disrupted the Roman Empire of the fifth century, and the Christian Church in the West was obliged to continue alone through the centuries of confusion and civil retrogression that followed, until Charlemagne once more restored the Empire, and re-established the dual function of Church and State. The so-called Barbarian invasion of Rome was in its consequences an absorption of the invading tribes by Roman civilization (1). Few, if any, of the tribal leaders had any real desire to destroy the civilization of Rome, and a number of the most prominent of them expressed a desire to preserve it (2). Consequently those who came to plunder remained to serve.

In all this political upheaval the Church succeeded in maintaining fairly well the even tenor of her way, and the truth was evidenced here - which later Imperial rivals of the Papacy discovered to their sorrow - that empires and kings passed and policies, however sound and carefully planned, gave place to others, but the Western Church in its most important aspects was unchanging in purpose. Given the definite plan and ambition she had, a self-perpetuating institution such as

1. The tribes were formally converted to the Latin Church as follows: Franks, 496; Burgundians, 517; Suevi, 550-569; Visigoths, 589; Saxons, 597; Lombards 650 c. etc.
2. Almost all the Merovingian rulers desired this, but realized it with varying degrees of success, due to superstition and lack of discipline in their kingdoms.

that Church was bound to rise above the temporary and conflicting elements of the civil organization.

But Charlemagne laid the foundation, in spirit and in fact, for a nationalism that was destined in a later age to defeat the temporal aspirations of the Papacy that had then almost become master of all the Western world. It is true that his kingdom was wrested from his house and many subsequent Emperors made to bow before the representatives of the Papacy; but the time came when that instinct for freedom which made him compel the Papacy to accede to his will in law and civil discipline, and which restrained him from adopting the manners and dress of the Caesars in the face of the Church's utmost persuasion, found full expression in the independence of Philippe le Bel (1275-1314) and Edward III (1272-1307). Here once more the dualism of Church and State was reconstituted, although in this instance it was the Papacy and not the State that had fallen on evil days; and out of the Church's Avignon Exile and the Great Schism, and the influences of the Reforming Councils, there emerged a political structure that has since successfully maintained its rights against the religious organization.

Having in mind this general aspect of the period, it is necessary to review very briefly some of the most important changes in the theory and doctrine of the Church during the same time.

I. INDIVIDUAL ASCETICISM TO ECCLESIASTICAL MONASTICISM.

An understanding of the attitude of Ockham and Wyclif

to the Church of their day is impossible unless the development of Monasticism and the ideals of a religious life are kept clearly in mind. Plato had advocated, centuries before, a life of asceticism for purposes of meditation and discipline. The Jewish Essenes and the Therapeutae lived as hermits. Christianity had early found expression in isolated and enthusiastic ascetics like Anthony (1), Paul of Thebes (2), and Hilarion (3), who had gathered about themselves by the example of their own life a group of faithful followers. In most cases the motive prompting the practice was sincere, though in some it probably originated in a desire to imitate others, and in a few in a desire to make a show and create an impression. But, in general it might safely be said that the asceticism of the early Christian centuries found expression in a form of life that was sincere and truly self-effacing in its intent and practice.

Although in the beginning the life of the Western monk was less strict and rigorous than that of his Eastern brother, yet an amazing change took place in the conception of monasticism in the Latin Church, fatal in the unnatural and impossible restrictions it imposed. At the first Paphnitus had prevented the enactment of celibacy as a requirement. But Siricius, Eusebius, and Augustine advocated it, and Leo the Great extended its application even to the Diaconate. Benedict (529) instituted a new and more severe form of monasticism, which for a time gave promise of deep spiritual power. A vow of obedience and perpetual service was required, and marriage of monks was declared invalid.

1. Sozomen. h. e., 1, 12, 13.

2. Jerome. "Vita Pauli"

3. Jerome. "Vita Hilarionis"

Of the early monastic orders the Benedictines, speaking generally, alone survived the early middle ages. Other contemporaneous orders passed when the impulse of the founder or his immediate successors became indistinct. The Benedictines became lazy and careless, unmindful of their religious duties, and anxious to increase the wealth of the various chapters. The common people came to despise them, but were alienated from a devotion to a true religion by the delinquencies of these false monks. The monasteries reflected surprisingly well the social life and atmosphere of the time: the abbot was usually of the upper class of citizenry or of the nobility; the priests and monks were of peasant and trades extraction, and brought with them to the monasteries their desire to be assured wealth and ease, and their love for gaming, drinking, hunting, and fighting. Many of the monks could not read and could scarcely say Mass - a weakness which Wyclif at a much later date exposed unhesitatingly. It was even said of the Norman monks that they gave in some cases their curacies to their daughters as marriage dowers.

An effort was made to reform monasticism. The order was restored to its austerity and rigorousness of custom by the influence of two groups which within themselves put an end to scandals, and established a new standard of purity to become the recognized ideal for the Church of the time. One of the groups fled from the world and sought purity in solitude as a leaven to extend ultimately perhaps to the world. One, Bruno, fleeing from the northern part of France, took refuge in the wild mountainous region of Dauphiny and with a

~~few~~ companions established the order known as the Carthusians. Another branch of the same general group, founded by one, Romualdo, an Italian, became known as the Carmaldules. The other major group of reformers believed that rules should be made more strict and life more austere, but that the point of contact with the world should in general continue as before. These in the order of their founding were established at the following places: Cluny, Cîteaux, Clairvaux, and Prémontré.

For a time the reformation was a decided success. Religion took on new life and enthusiasm, and the membership of the groups increased amazingly. But even this reform could not long maintain the integrity of the clergy, and again it succumbed to the lure of riches and indolence. Once again the system had to be overturned. This time it was accomplished by two leaders who left in a unique sense the stamp of their individuality on the orders they founded. Francis, the son of a merchant of Assisi, having forsaken his home for a life^{of} meekness, self-denial, and poverty, gathered about himself a band of followers who became distinguished for their self-humiliation. He forbade them to own any property, but rather sent them out, two by two, to preach repentance. Clothed as pilgrims and without possessions, they were known as "Fratres Minores". To this order William of Ockham belonged.

The other order was established by one, Dominic. He received his impulse to found a reformatory order from his ten years' experience in preaching to the heretical Albigenses. Dominic made preaching the cornerstone of his system; Francis

built his upon poverty and ministry to the people. The two orders were thus alike in a sense, and their appearance made a profound impression upon the Christian world. Yet even these orders yielded to wealth and corruption, and became the political tools of crafty churchmen, finally surrendering entirely in the suppression of the "Spirituales", a group of really ascetic Franciscans to which Ockham belonged.

Doubtless the whole idea of monasticism was a false and unsocial interpretation of the ideal of the primitive Christian Church; yet, granting even the goodness of its principles it was so constantly polluted by impurity from within and abused by conniving and ambitious Popes from without that the ancient conception had by the time of Ockham been almost entirely lost. Thus the church had in its evolution passed from an ideal of individual asceticism to one of social and corrupt monasticism.

II. EPISCOPACY TO PAPAL HIERARCHY

A second aspect of the evolution of the theory and doctrine of the Church was the change from the administration of local bishops and provincial synods to the autocratic control of the Papal Hierarchy, or the "Theocracy", as some of its representatives preferred to characterize it.

No effort of imagination is necessary to visualize the beginnings of ecclesiastical administration in the early Christian Church, for they are clearly portrayed in the New Testament. And, when the apostolic period had passed and that

of the sub-apostolic period ~~had~~ begun, there are sufficient evidences from contemporary writers of the practices of the time to be certain of these facts: that as the Christian sect increased in numbers additional churches were organized, depending either upon the nearest churches for the service of a deacon or presbyter, or upon a choice of those in authority of one to be placed permanently over the new churches. As in the first century the leaders of the early Church gathered at Jerusalem for conference upon important matters of discipline or organization, so the churches met generally in "Provincial Synods" for like purposes. Usually these synods were convened by an invitation of the bishop of the most influential church in the vicinity, who acted as host. It was also the condition in the Latin Church in England, and there is ample evidence to assert that it was so throughout Christendom. In such meetings the opinion of the bishop who acted as host and, moreover, ranked as an important cleric in the province would naturally carry considerable weight. So there came to exist, in a manner quite easily understood, a tendency to show deference to the opinion and ~~s~~ation of the important bishops. Gradually doubtless the bishops of the larger cities began to exercise a sort of superintendence over the others and thus became "Metropolitani". And yet we know that all bishops felt a sense of responsibility to the entire Church as well as to ~~their~~ own dioceses, and each asserted a right to interfere in an emergency in cases where another bishop was inefficient, heretical, or incapable of dealing with a local problem.

In the case of the Bishop of Rome, with whom we are

primarily concerned here, the rise to power ~~was~~ comparatively easy. His ^{supreme} ~~was~~ the only apostolic congregation in the West. And, what was more important, his see contained the political capital of the Empire. However much contemporary metropolitans and patriarchs might feel the injustice of the situation, and whatever statements such churchmen as Cyprian might make regarding the equality of bishops, the fact remained that the world in general accorded a degree of honor and of precedence to the Bishop of Rome that it gave to no other. All that was needed to make Rome supreme among the churches was a policy sufficiently comprehensive and constantly maintained, and a succession of popes sufficiently ambitious to carry it out. Through such accidents as that of Julius and the Synod of Sardica (347), the Epistolae Decretales (385-500~~ac~~), the appointment by the Papacy of the Bishop of Thessalonica to exercise patriarchal rights in the province of Illyria as a subject of the Roman See, the struggle with Hilary in Gaul, until the final act in which Leo the Great (440-461) obtained a law from the Emperor Valentinian iii (445) by which the Bishop of Rome became the legal and supreme head of the Church: thus was the influence of Rome extended.

Thereafter, until the time of Ockham, it was necessary only that succeeding bishops of Rome retain what had already been won, and use it to gain new advantages. Soon not only ecclesiastical but imperial power was sought and there was likewise little opposition in the way of obtaining it. Aside from the conflict with Hincmar, and the quasi-independence of William i of England and his Archbishop, Lanfranc, there was

no opposition to the supreme administrative prerogative of the Pope that the interdict publicly and the monks secretly could not crush. Both instances mentioned were lacking in permanent value and important only as tendencies. It remained for the Kings of England and France almost simultaneously, and during the period of Ockham's life, to check the world-wide hierarchical tendencies of the Papacy by engendering a spirit of freedom among their clergy and people.

III. POLITICAL UNASSERTIVENESS TO SECULAR SUPREMACY.

In yet another respect the evolution of the theory and doctrine of the Church should be noted - and it was this change which, more than any other, brought about the instinctive fear of the Papacy by mediaeval independents and the ultimate destruction of the civil authority of the Church by them - a change in the political theory of the Church from one of unassertiveness to one of absolute secular supremacy.

The early Christian Church had very definite ideas of the part Christians should take in political and civil affairs. In New Testament times the Master asserted, on being questioned directly in the matter, that one should "render to Caesar the things that are Caesar's"; but no ecclesiastical politician ever gathered much specific encouragement out of that phrase. On the other hand, Christians were forbidden by the Scriptures to take their disputes to a secular court. They were taught a practice of non-resistance when in contact with the civil authorities. They were forbidden to exact usury, and were

taught to abhor the Emperor and the idolatry he represented. It is an indubitable fact, however, that the growth in authority and influence of the leaders of the Church only deepened within them a craving for yet greater power, and soon of political power, until each succeeding generation saw more privileges and political authority allocated to the Church and willingly, in the main, accepted by her nominal heads and representatives.

For the sake of brevity and clearness we shall note this particular development in the theory and doctrine of the Church under four sub-heads:

1. In the Papacy demanding administrative control of the clergy.

The form that this development took challenged at once the historic prerogative of the civil rulers. There is no doubt but that from ancient times the secular rulers expected control of their citizens on a basis of common sense. They habitually designated certain ones to conduct their religious ministrations or approved those their people had chosen, provided they were not hostile to their own policies. Granting that there was a weakness in such a system inherent in the fact that the secular ruler might desire unlawful ends and be influenced in appointing as religious leaders those who would assist him in his purposes, yet even then it is questionable if the practice led to such grave abuses as the later Papal system did, where the Church was either dominating or hostile to the civil power, and where a foreign Pope could carry out his purposes in the government of a rival by a

by a system of espionage and sabotage through his clergy before which the latter was helpless. There was something awesome in the deliberate and effective manner in which the Papal Hierarchy set about, through its self-chosen and self-perpetuated agents, to wreck a dynasty or overthrow a rival power. Until forced to do so by such circumstances as these, scarcely any exponent of the State would have denied the Papacy its voice in the selection and control of the clergy. It was only when the provocation became so unbearable and the practice so dangerous that the very safety of the State was imperilled that princes like William the Conqueror, Edward I, and Henry VIII took matters into their own hands.

In the definite conflict concerning investiture this became clearly the issue upon which the entire question was decided. There is no need to discuss here the aspects of the long controversy. The Hierarchy doubtless had the instinctive approval of men in the beginning, for none presumed to say that secular rulers should exercise control in spiritual matters; rather, it was almost universally admitted that things spiritual should take precedence over temporal things. Yet the Papacy, by its unspirituality and injustice, lost this initial advantage and forfeited the natural respect men felt for their religious leaders, until Philippe le Bel, himself an unworthy and unscrupulous man, was able to seize and subject to gross indignities the venerable Boniface VIII, few lifting a hand in remonstrance. The perennial custom of the Papal Hierarchy to wrest privileges from the States had finally borne its fruits, but not of the kind the Papacy had anticipated.

Underneath all ~~and~~ this assumption of authority was the basic fact that the Papal Hierarchy had taken over direct control of the clergy. Instead of the individual bishops governing their dioceses, they were made to feel the restrictions of the Papacy at every turn. The Pope at his pleasure passed by them and dealt with individual clerics of laymen. He had, scattered throughout every nation and bishopric, groups of monks who were accountable only to him, and who caused the bishop and regular clergy much difficulty. In order to extend his powers, at first, and later in order to protect himself, the Pope found it to his advantage to overturn the established practices of episcopacy and substitute for them a strong centralized organization. But the practice resulted in injustices against which all three of the subjects of this thesis complained most bitterly.

2. In demanding jurisdiction over citizens in criminal and civil matters.

" The acquisitions of wealth by the Church were hardly so remarkable and scarcely contributed so much to her greatness as those innovations upon the ordinary course of justice which fall under the head of ecclesiastical jurisdiction and immunity". With these words Hallam summed up what was in reality another phase of the evolution of the church from her political unassertiveness to her imperial ambition.

It is an undoubted fact of human experience that men guard with extreme jealousy their rights before the law; and nothing will so soon disrupt an otherwise sane and efficient

Government as unfair and partial punishment of crime and unequal exemption from civil obligations. Men submit themselves with better grace to military conscription than to what they term unjust taxation or corrupt judiciaries. The mediaeval Church, "drunk with power", stumbled into this quicksand. When Ockham faced the entrenched Church it was an institution that had long since ceased to heed the curses of those without its protection, and of civil officers seeking to administer law with equity. The dramatic gesture with which Cardinal Richelieu is reported to have defended the helpless maiden had been resorted to so often during previous years that men knew quite well the "charmed circle" of protection the church could cast about anyone she chose and especially about her own minions.

The ultimate cause of the Church's ambitions in this direction was undoubtedly the growth of Canon Law. Taking form early in the middle ages, it grew in importance until civil law was in many cases almost entirely dispossessed. Canon law became the basic code by which judgments were pronounced and civil law became the method of procedure. So civil lawyers were ordinarily canon lawyers, and until the appointment of Thomas More by Henry viii no layman had ever been chancellor of the Kingdom of England. The Church came to exercise immediate control over almost every aspect of a man's life. It claimed jurisdiction over everything that had to do in any way with the spiritual life of men, and in this manner obtained control of practically all of life. The

Processes in which the clergy were involved either as plaintiff or defendant; administration and control of Church property; accusations involving religious beliefs or practices of the people; things concerned with matrimony; testamentary rights; observance of oaths; payment of debts; general dishonesty; crimes against morality: in these and in many other instances the canon law exalted the Church to a position of first importance in the State. And since the Church courts were notoriously partial to their own friends, men not only lost faith in justice, but became resentful towards the Church for meddling in affairs which were in few cases any concern of her's.

How monstrously wrong her practices were was apparent even in the days when they occurred and in spite of forged documents, decrees, and edicts to support them. Criminals with no thought of penitence but only fear of just vengeance found safety in the sanctuary afforded by the Church. A casual inspection of the enactments in mediaeval England as contained in the "Statutes of the Realm" reveals the fact that kings had almost constantly to maintain the jurisdictions of their civil courts against the intrusion of the ecclesiastical courts. One interesting, though vicious, example of the corrupt practices referred to is this: a practice became prevalent and legally binding in common belief that one died intestate unless he had received the last rites of the Church. These in turn were not administered unless the dying individual was in every sense a member of the Church and was willing to do penance for his sins, which the priest, upon hearing the con-

cession, bountifully imposed. Manifestly, however, there was no opportunity for doing penance, and it only remained for him to "buy off" the prescribed penances by gifts to the Church. In such cases it was considered very advisable for individuals to manifest a becoming generosity, and in some cases superstitious wretches or impulsive saints were frightened into giving all that they possessed to the Church, to the evident disadvantage of their friends or dependents.

3. In the Papacy demanding for itself supremacy over princes and civil authority.

Finally, a glimpse must be had of the modification in the political conception of the Church which permitted the Papal Hierarchy to contend before the gaze of a cynical world with emperors, kings, and princes for the position of supremacy in temporal things. No evolution in theory of the Mediaeval Church has, in its process of development and its perfected form, brought so much unnecessary public criticism upon herself as this.

The disgusting contest need not be reviewed here: suffice it to indicate the reasoning by which the Church justified her actions. And it goes almost without the saying that both the Papacy and the State believed that its very existence depended upon its success in this conflict.

Apologists for the Papal claims maintain even until the present time that the Church was forced by her very nature to be an arbiter in the affairs of men and nations, and as such required authority and dignity to give weight

to her decisions; that she had rightfully acquired material possessions (Here of course Ockham takes exception) and needed defensive forces to protect them; that the State had deserted her to her foes in the fifth century, and that she was forced to provide for herself; that philosophically there can be no true dualism, and that in practice it was likewise impossible in the relation of herself and the State; that Peter and his successors had definitely received temporal authority in the incident of the Two ^{Swords} ~~Keys~~; and that finally, a religious conception of the world required a supreme Church, and that tradition always supported the view. These statements by no means exhaust all the defenses available, but probably cover most of those advanced by defenders of the Papal Hierarchy. Against these arguments the secular leaders never opposed with much assurance or any real success the theory that the Church should be subordinated to the Civil authority; rather, they maintained, the spheres of activity of the Church and State are different and should be kept so.

From the conflict the Church learned the bitter lesson that if it is possible to fight fire with fire, yet the cost entailed is enormous. For every victory which the Papacy won over its secular opponents, it lost in the estimation of men in general infinitely more than it gained, and the consequent reaction invariably left its position more difficult than before. It possibly was a satisfying experience for Gregory vii to force Henry iv to stand barefooted in the snows of Canossa, but indulgence in that revengeful and un-Christian act broke

the ~~the~~ force of Gregory's previous successes and brought the German nobles back to Henry. It perhaps was the realization of centuries of effort to see a king of England prostrate before the Pope, as John was before Innocent iii.; but out of Innocent's proud ambition was bred in England such a spirit of sullen resistance among the offended laity that never thereafter was the Papacy able to enjoy the fruits of its victory. And how tragically the structure Boniface viii had erected in the famous bull "Unam Sanctam" crumbled about him when he was seized like a common criminal by Philippe's vicious agent, Nogaret, and forced into exile. These and almost innumerable other acts of the sort were cumulative and convincing evidence that the Church could no more direct the secular affairs of the nations, than could the secular officers manage the spiritual activities of their people.

All this process of development Ockham, Wyclif, and probably Cranmer knew better than anyone in a modern age could ever hope to know it, since they understood the significance of a multitude of small incidents in the mosaic of rebellion against, and dissatisfaction with, the Papacy which are unknown to us.

IV. SIMPLICITY OF WORSHIP TO RITUALISM

Finally, the subjects of this thesis, as students of forms of worship and liturgy, must have marked a profound change in the entire conception of worship and the sacraments

from the Scriptural simplicity of the early Church to the highly developed ritualism of the middle ages. It was indeed a considerable change from the Church service of New Testament times, with its reading of the Scripture, expounding of what was read, open discussion, singing, and prayer, to the Church service of the middle ages, with the Canonical Hours beginning at dawn and extending at intervals to midnight. In the practice of the latter church were also included the low and high Mass, and there were also formularies for funerals, dedications, and also the other sacraments besides the eucharist.

The idea of the clergy as a priesthood in the Mosaic sense took form in Tertullian. With the conception came the corollary idea that a priest offers a sacrifice. Without indicating the intervening steps it is only necessary to say that at the time of Ockham and Wyclif the sacrifice in the Communion had become central in the service, and therefore the service had become highly ritualistic in form. When the fundamental idea in an act of worship is to offer a sacrifice to God, then nothing is too elaborate and beautiful to bring as an offering, and no service becomes too ornate to be offered to Almighty God. The home as the New Testament place of worship and the church of that time were replaced by inspiring and beautiful minsters such as York, Cologne, or Lincoln, where the soul was awed by the very physical attributes of the church. These centuries marked the adoption of the Latin Liturgy in the West, with the peculiar style that characterized it in all its parts. They saw the adoption of vestments

for all engaged in the public worship of the Church, from the most simple garments for minor officers and participants, to the robes of gorgeous color and rich material worn by popes, cardinals and archbishops. In fact these centuries ^{the Church} saw assume a new appearance in putting off the old habits of simplicity and in donning instead the vestments of imperial splendor.

Wyclif, as we shall see, had considerable to say about all this. We merely call attention here to the background of the developments as they took place.

B. DOCTRINAL PRESUPPOSITIONS FOR ABOVE DEVELOPMENT

Underlying these very considerable changes in the theory and doctrine of the Church in its practices or its relations with men were decided changes in the causative conceptions and presuppositions of the Church itself. No such modifications as have just been noted could have been justified in the minds of men of the time unless the philosophical or Theological presuppositions of what the Church should be had also been modified. The following statements venture to suggest a way by which the change took place. Lack of space prevents any justification of them:

1. The Church was no longer regarded as a purely spirit-body with Jesus Christ as its sole head and no qualifications of admission save confession of sins to Him and belief in Him; rather it came to be regarded as the body of those

who submitted themselves to a particular ecclesiastical discipline and who acknowledged the Bishop of Rome as the vicar on earth of Jesus Christ.

From this situation the following conditions emerge:

- a. None outside this Church can be saved.
- b. Offenders against its discipline may be excluded and so lost.
- c. The Church is a powerful political and social organization.
- d. The Church is exposed to secularism and the dangers of human leadership.

2. The sole authority of Scripture was exchanged for an authority of both canonical and uncanonical Scripture, along with opinions of Church Fathers, Popes, and Councils, all of which have, in general, equal authority.

From this attitude the following conditions develop:

- a. The Church forfeits thereby its external and absolute standard for criticizing itself and its administrators.
- b. Members of the Church are bound morally as well as legally to obey the mandates of the Church's administrators.
- c. Internal strife between popes and councils is engendered by disputes about precedence in authority.
- d. Opportunity is afforded to change the essential nature of the Church by altering doctrines, increasing sacraments, etc.
- e. Opportunity is afforded for popes to claim and obtain recognition not alone of supremacy but of infallibility.

3. The conception of the function of the ministry as teaching, preaching, and healing, was changed to that of a Mosaic priesthood.

It follows from this that:

- a. The function of the priest becomes that of an intermediary offering sacrifice in behalf of the people.
- b. The nature of acts of public worship becomes changed from one of fellowship with God to one of propitiation.

4. Sacraments were no longer only ~~as~~ signs of spiritual presence and power, but were believed actually to confer grace.

This leads to the following conditions:

- a. A way is opened for magical and superstitious conceptions of the sacraments and the Church.
- b. Those who are excluded from the sacraments are deprived of hope of salvation.
- c. The authority and ordination of the regnant body in the Church are necessarily confirmed.

5. The New Testament conception of the Communion was changed to the mediaeval idea of the Mass in which the body and blood of Jesus Christ were offered again by the priest as an unbloody sacrifice. The priest therefore possessed power and authority to "make" the body of Jesus.

From this the following conception grew:

- a. The priesthood is possessed of a miraculous and sacred power that prohibits acknowledging any other authority.
- (Can it be admitted that the hands which have the supreme honor of creating the Creator should be reduced to the infamy of submitting to hands soiled with rapine and blood?)

- Ubban ii)

II

CONDITIONS PECULIAR TO THE CHURCH IN ENGLAND

CONDITIONS PECULIAR TO THE CHURCH IN ENGLAND

When, in accordance with the subject of our thesis, we narrow our attention to the field of English History, and confine ourselves to conditions that were peculiar to the Church in England as compared to Continental Church life, we are at once aware of some differences that require especial attention. And for whatever psychological influence there is inherent in a national spirit and point of view and in reactions that are conditioned by birth and environment we shall have to make allowance here, because Ockham, Wyclif, and Cranmer were all Englishmen, in days when that nationality implied as much individuality as it ever has.

It is undoubtedly true that much of the spirit of independence manifested in the Church in England was but the expression in ecclesiastical things of that love for and insistence upon freedom which characterized the political fortunes of the nation. The writer is not content to accept the current explanation for the spirit of liberty in the English Church and State:- that her insular situation has made her what she is. It is probably correct to say that her geographical location has many times protected not only her political interests but also her religious traditions. But such an admission is quite another matter in its implications than from saying that the difference between the religious point of view of England and Belgium, for instance, was thirty

miles of salt sea. The reasons that kept England throughout the centuries from surrendering to the Latin Church and forfeiting her individuality lie much deeper than in mere geographic separation.

As a matter of fact, England's location did not afford her protection in the face of at least four of the great super-national crises that confronted Western Europe:

1. The conquest of Europe by the Roman Legions.
2. The Westward movement of the Barbarians.
3. The depletion of man-power and resources by the Crusades.
4. The terrible scourge of the Black Death.

The first ² two of these must surely have changed the entire course of English religious history, since together they overthrew and all but destroyed the pre-Latin Christianity of the country. The destruction by the Romans of the resources and the morale of the country was shortly followed by the devastation, almost amounting to annihilation, of the English civilization by the Barbarian tribesmen. Yet, strange to say, out of the welter of internal bloodshed and the force of external compulsion there arose, Phoenix-like, a nation ^{that} welded into one the polyglot elements of itself, and there was evolved a theory and doctrine of the Church that became unique in its age.

I. The establishment of the Church in England was independent of the Latin Hierarchy.

An assertion such as that here made has been desperately

assailed by the Latin Church and for very evident reasons. If it can be shown that there was a connection with the Church of New Testament times other than and independent of itself, then its cornerstone of Orders crumbles, and with it crashes the entire structure that the Hierarchy has so laboriously raised. Protestant Churches, on the other hand, that require in their discipline an apostolic succession of ordained clergy seem to have found in the early organization of the Church in England such an independent link to unite them with the New Testament Church. Therefore the history of the development of the Church in England has become ^{the} battle-ground for controversialists. Usually protagonists of both views have followed rather their desires and prejudices than the facts - when such have been discovered - and the spirit of the discussion has not always been ideal. But, as has been indicated, the issue is indeed a vital one to those concerned with the validity of Orders.

For the purposes of this thesis it is only important to notice that the foundations of the Church in England were laid independently of distinctly Roman ideas. And not only was it unrelated in its establishment, but it remained so until after 597 A.D. What it meant to the Christian Church in England to exist independent of the Papal Hierarchy for almost two hundred years after the latter began to aspire to world dominion can only be imagined. During the interval all the remainder of the civilized Western World came under Rome's influence and accepted her beliefs, officially at least.

It is readily admitted that the pre-Latin Christianity

of Britain was not so general or up-to-date with regard to conciliar modifications of doctrine; but neither was it so ambitious and self-glorifying as that of the Roman Church. Indeed it seems to have been simple in ritual and practice and capable of producing men who were devout ~~devout~~ in life and truly evangelical in spirit, as is attested by their numerous missionary activities.

As regards the impossibility of Hierarchical influence in the founding of the Christian Church in ^{Britain} England, it is well to recall the facts of the matter. The Emperor Constantine was born in Britain of a Christian Mother and possibly a Christian father, although this is not certain. In any case Constantine himself was very favorably inclined towards Christianity. It seems from various Scriptural passages and from inferences, not perhaps substantiated beyond some doubt, that the Christian faith spread throughout the Roman army and from it to the provinces where it was stationed. However it reached Britain, it was quite evidently there at the time of Constantine. But it has been seen (page 19) that the Bishop of Rome had not become head of the Latin Church until 445, and that he did not claim universal dominion until after the year (1) 600 A.D. It is absurd, therefore, to contend that the Roman Catholic Church, as it conceives of its unchanging organization through the centuries, could have established the Church

1. The development of the authority of the Pope:

- a. About 378 Damasus obtained a grant making him patriarch of the Western Church
- b. In 445 Leo the Great was made head of the Church in the Empire
- c. About 606 Boniface iii assumed the title "Universal Bishop".

in England, when it did not exist in the sense it claims until long after the time of Constantine the Great.

Controversialists have found grounds for assigning the Christianizing of Britain to each of the following individuals: John, the Apostle; James the Elder; James, Peter, and Paul, the Apostles; Joseph of Arimathea; Aristobulus; Bran, son of Llyr; Priscilla and Aquilla; and Lucius; and doubtless to others whose names the writer has not noted. One's childhood-suspicions as to who really "killed Cock-robin" and possibly as to the fact of his actual demise were roused by the number of aspirants for a share in the deed. It seems almost thus in the instance of bringing Christianity to Britain. However, the writer feels no obligation, for the purposes of this study, to discover who was the actual agent. It is sufficient for present purposes to point out that the material and conditioning spirit for the background of the theory and doctrine of the Church in England could not have come from a source that submitted to the domination of the Bishop of Rome as head of the Church, and accepted the practices of that communion.

The above facts seem important, in view of later developments of the same sort which will be noted in this chapter.

II. The influence of the Celtic Church upon the Church in England.

With the fact of the absence of the influence of the Latin Church upon the Church in England at the time of the latter's establishment kept in mind, we pass to a brief consideration of what may be termed a second condition peculiar to the Church in England:- the influence of the Celtic Church.

The conflict between Roman Catholic and Protestant historians has centered here with extreme bitterness, and scholars of both sides of the controversy have been guilty of evident lapses from their best standards of action. There has been an effort to discredit the nature and worth of the Christianity held in Britain during the days of the Roman military occupation and during the days of the invasion of the North European tribes. There has been an even greater effort put forth to deny to the Celtic Church any real degree of success in meeting the problem of Christianizing the pagan invaders, and of formulating a policy of action and preparing an organization sufficiently capable of carrying it out. But the outstanding critics of Celtic Christianity were those who, at a later time and as servants of the Hierarchy, were preparing chronicles of the years preceding the coming of the Papal Church and its authority.

We are reminded here that when religion and government go hand in hand - as indeed has been the case so often in the middle ages - the religion most likely to gain the

ascendency over rivals, quite aside from any inherent worth on its own part, is the one supported by the influence of the prevailing law or government. So Greek religion followed the Greek arms, and so Emperor Worship followed in the train of the Roman Eagle. The lot of the dissenter was no more difficult in early Christian days than in any other age. The power of the State was available to be used against him; the avenues of official and authoritative information were closed against him; and chroniclers usually found it to their advantage to remember in compiling their annals not only which side of their bread was buttered but also that ~~all~~ might be entirely devoid of it, if certain of the favors expected of servant-scribes were omitted. Furthermore, vast resources were at the disposal of the Bishop of Rome to reward those ^{who} wrote wisely, and to emphasize the ever-present possibility of the revision of a former writer's records by a succeeding scribe in case the former had written "not wisely but too well".

It is most unfortunate that many of the chronicles, which in some cases are the sole contemporary records of historic incidents, are so apparently misleading, untruthful, and in some instances deliberately falsified revisions of former records that were ^{set} setting forth a true account of an incident or issue ~~an~~ question. The Papal chroniclers for the period now under discussion were notoriously dishonest in these matters, so that the work of even such men as Bede and Gildas cannot be accepted without very definite confirm-

atory evidence.

As an example of the fact, attention is directed to conflict between the monk, Augustine, and the representatives of the Celtic Church. Monkish chroniclers are practically agreed that the real difference in the conflict between these two branches of Christendom centered about the shape in which the tonsure should be shaved, the manner of administering Baptism, and the time of observing Easter. And subsequent historians, some of them quite modern, have pointed to this silly and worthless distinction as being characteristic of the stubbornness and jealousy that alone kept the Celtic Church from uniting with the Latin.

As a matter of fact, we know records even of the Latin chroniclers themselves which prove these were but external issues, scarcely revealing the powerful and instinctive resistance the Celtic Church offered to Augustine's assumption of authority, and to the evident purpose of the Bishop of Rome to obtain complete control of the Celtic Church. No little ridicule has been directed at the fact that because Augustine had the chance misfortune to remain seated when meeting some Celtic representatives in a conference, the Celts were offended and refused to enter into negotiations and thus dispose of their differences. The incident was not so lightly regarded by the Celts themselves, however, and so deep was their disappointment that Colman, one of their delegates, surrendered his office in the diocese of York and returned to his own faith and friends when the King failed to support him.

The incident marks one of the first and very important steps in the development of the theory and doctrine of the Church in England. Thus early the Britons asserted their perennial conviction that they would live in spiritual bondage to no prelate or organization.

From this time, however, the power of the Celtic Church declined. The political pressure Rome brought to bear was of such^a nature that the conscientious Celts found themselves unwilling to attempt a resistance in kind, and so they were gradually forced out of important and influential positions. By some it was claimed that the Celtic Church and, what is more important for our purposes, the Celtic spirit shortly thereafter disappeared.

It should be remembered that, as Latin protagonists quite justly asserted, the Celtic Church had been geographically separated from Rome and cut off from sympathetic knowledge of the Latin procedure. The Celts themselves admitted it, and, when not admitting it, betrayed the fact by their lack of knowledge of changes in the Latin Discipline. When Columbanus, for instance, in his monastery in the Vosges mountains, discovered that the Gallican clergy were envious of his success and ~~had~~ had brought about the convening of a synod to consider his practices, he sent a letter defending the manner of his observing Easter in which he referred to a method of computing the time of the observance which the Latin Church had long since discarded in its computations. In his subsequent letter to Pope Boniface iv, he maintained that he was proceeding according to the authority of the

fathers and by permission of the Council of Constantinople. But in the Latin Church, this manner of computation to which he referred had been modified in the years 410, 457, 525, and 541^{AD}. The Latin Church had refused to allow it to remain a matter of local importance, but, by a canon of the Fourth Council of Orleans, had directed uniformity everywhere. Had Columbanus known this, whether he agreed with it or not, he would certainly not have written as he did.

The result of the conflict between the Latin and Celtic forms of Monasticism in Britain is important: first, because it severed the relationship between the Picts and the Celtic disciples of Columba by re-establishing the secular clergy and subordinating the monasteries to them. This gave rise to differences in discipline and to peculiar conditions of jurisdiction and of clerical life in the Celtic and Latin organizations. The secular idea of the Latin Church became common in Scotland, and extended also to Ireland. Those who had submitted to the Latin Church in such matters as fixing the date of Easter, found themselves also forced to submit to an equally foreign conception of religious life.

The second consequence of the conflict was that the Celtic monks, dissatisfied with secularizing influences, reverted to a still more strict form of monastic life, in which the prevalent, and indeed compulsory Latin conception of Monachism as a form of community living was exchanged for the old ascetic and anchoritic ideal, which was individual or very small group isolation. Those who assumed this form of life were known as members of the "Dei Cultus", and later,

by a strange reversal of the term, as "Culdees". There was little in common between these Celtic monks, engaged in secluded and pious meditation, and the fraternal and often vulgar Latin monks of the time. Records are extant in which enemies charge the Celts with stubbornness and independence, but seldom, if ever, is there any mention made of them manifesting that indolence and licentiousness to which reference is so often made in speaking of the Latin monks.

It seems utterly unwarranted to assume - as Reeves so smugly but unconvincingly does - that the influence of the Culdees was limited to Ireland, and that they were at best but a poor species of Irish monk. It would seem rather, from an examination of the records of the Celtic Church in Scotland, Wales, and England - as well as Ireland - that they were the consequence and result of the enforced union between two unlike and unsympathetic groups, one of which (the Celtic) was pious, self-governing, and unmindful of petty details of politics and procedure, and the other (the Latin) which was impelled by a strong desire to evangelize, but was hampered and cramped by the load of organization, uniformity, and self sufficiency it bore. But Wyclif will have considerable to say about the secularizing element in the Church.

The influence of the Celtic Church and life upon the theory and doctrine of the Church in England depends upon two conditions for its proof:

1. Did the Celtic Church as an organization or its ideals as a group remain until the fourteenth century?
2. Is it apparent that opinions and habits peculiar to them are apparent in the pre-Reformation reformers?

Concerning the first condition: there can be little doubt as to satisfying it; for there are records of actual Culdee priories and organizations in England and Scotland until late in the fourteenth century, and in Ireland until the middle of the sixteenth century. And in matters so deeply rooted as the difference between the Celtic and the Latin monasticism, the spirit would remain in relatives and friends long after the actual organizations had been disbanded and the last inmate had died.

As for the second condition: the judgment in every case will necessarily be personal. The writer has long felt, however, that it requires no special effort to discover a close similarity or continuity of purpose between the leaders of the Celtic Church and the outstanding personages who brought about the conflict terminating in the Reformation, and believes that recent scholarship in its investigations supports that conviction.

III. The influence of the spirit of liberty in civil affairs upon the Church in England.

It is necessary to an understanding of the teachings of Wyclif, especially, to note the development and tendencies in the relation of the Church and State in England. It will be impossible to quote at length from documents, and it will likewise be impossible to mention more than a few of the incidents that indicated the course of events. It is hoped, however, that sufficient may be cited to make clear a con-

viction the writer has experienced from a survey of the "Rolls Series" and the "Statutes of the Realm", that England for perhaps six centuries before the time of Ockham was formally submissive to Rome in spiritual things, but really independent in her thinking and in her conception and exercise of temporal power: That there was, in other words, an historic independence of English institutions that led naturally to a rejection of the claims of the Latin Church in spiritual things as well as in temporalities.

(1). We begin arbitrarily, since a beginning must be made somewhere, in the Anglo-Saxon period and with Ecgfrid (670-685) King of Northumbria. In the eighth year of his reign a quarrel arose between Wilfrid, Bishop of York, and himself. Chroniclers are not agreed as to the cause of the difference; but in any case, Wilfrid was deprived of his see, and the Archbishop of Canterbury seems to have supported the King in the deposition. Wilfrid set out for Rome, and upon arriving there was received with great honor by the Pope and by a council then in session. He was shortly sent back to Ecgfrid, armed with a decree re-establishing him, and bearing with it the penalty of excommunication for disobedience of it. The King called together a body of his laity and clergy, and, upon examination of the letters, Wilfrid was not only denied his see but was cast into prison. The explicit command of the Pope seemed to carry little weight with either the King or the people.

(2). Offa (757-796), King of the Mercians, moved with remorse for his murder of King Ethelbert, made a grant to the

Church of the title of his dominion; also a grant of land to Hereford Cathedral where Ethelbert was buried. A close examination of the facts seems to indicate that Rome was at one of her tricks of playing upon bad consciences of her laity. This case rivals that of Henry ii in the price demanded for forgiveness. Offa is also generally credited with originating the pernicious custom of paying "Peter's Pence", although the evidence seems clear that in its original intent the gift was nothing else than an endowment for a school in Rome which had been founded by a predecessor, Ina.

(3) (4). Alfred the Great (872-900) was a son of the Church in a particular sense, having been sent to Rome with a suitable retinue when yet a boy five years of age, to be under the tutorship of Pope Leo iv. No comment is necessary here upon his work of education in his kingdom or of his liberality to the Church. He translated the "Pastorals" of Gregory the Great for his clergy and people; and the amazing efforts he put forth in behalf of his kingdom, his personal religious devotion, and his beneficence to the Church are so unusual as to be almost unbelievable. Yet it is significant that there is no record of intercourse with legates of Rome, of letters of submission to Rome, of interference in the councils of the Church, or of extra privileges for the abbeys he established. Above all it seems strange that he summoned from the Continent one, Johannes Scotus Erigena, when Erigena, by preaching against the doctrine of transubstantiation as taught by Paschasius, had fallen under the severe displeasure of Rome. We should say, in brief, that

Alfred was a true ideal of an English King:- religious and sympathetic towards the Church, and yet insistent upon managing the affairs of his kingdom as his own right and according to his own conscience.

(4) (5). In the reigns of Edwy (955-959) and Edgar (959-976), Dunstan, Archbishop of Canterbury and an energetic agent of the Papacy, succeeded, by religious discipline and civil conspiracy, in obtaining the overthrow of the former king and the crowning of the latter. By this change royal assent was obtained for driving married clergy from the convents, for a charter of unusual privileges for the organizations at Canterbury, and for implanting monks in many monasteries where hitherto they had been unknown. And yet a most extraordinary incident occurred in the episcopate of this same Dunstan. He placed under the lesser excommunication a certain earl because of incestuous marriage, who appealed to the king. The king, satisfied that the sentence was extreme, commanded Dunstan to take off the censure. Dunstan, instead, pronounced the ~~the~~ greater excommunication, whereupon the earl appealed to the Pope. The Pope wrote to Dunstan instructing him to treat the sinner with leniency, and ordered him to restore the earl to full communion. Dunstan refused, concluding his statement to the Pope - according to Eadmer - with these words: "I can never stoop to such compliance for the sake of any mortal man living". No great regard for Rome here!

(6). William the Conqueror (1066-1087) undertook the invasion of England by first obtaining the sanction of Pope Alexander ii, on the ground that he desired to bring the

country under the dominion of the Papal See (a fair evidence that it was not already considered so). He brought with him his Norman clergy and gradually installed them in the places of the Saxon clergy. These acts and statements of his are worthy of note in this connection:

a. He refused, in a letter to Gregory vii, to take the oath of fealty, on these words: " I refused to do fealty nor will I, because neither have I promised it nor do I find that my predecessors did it to your predecessors".

b. He imprisoned his half-brother Odo, bishop of Bayeux, and retained him in prison, despite the demands of the Pope that he be released; on the grounds that the King had no jurisdiction over ecclesiastics.

c. He allowed no one settled in his dominion to acknowledge a pope as apostolic or receive letters from such without his consent.

d. He forbade the councils of clergy to ordain or forbid anything unless he first approved of it.

e. He did not permit his barons or ministers to be accused or excommunicated, even by his own bishops, without his command.

(7). William Rufus (1087-1100) waged what might be considered a successful war with Archbishop Anselm. He seemed to attach no special significance to the Pope ~~other~~ than as a power to be enlisted on his own side, if possible. Throughout his reign he boldly took benefices, and compelled the purchase of investiture. Upon hearing of Pope Urban's death, Eadmer reports him as saying of the successor, Paschal, "I will have nothing to do with him but will move with the same freedom as formerly.

(8). Considering the progress made by the Papacy in its quarrel with the Empire, Henry i (1100-1135) kept the

Kingdom of England fairly independent of Rome. True, he had to compromise with Anselm and the Pope on the matter; but his compromise was of such nature that the dignity of the kingdom was maintained. Further, these facts are significant:

a. Guido, legate of Rome, was denied admission to the country, and the Pope complained to Henry as follows: he is "very much surprised to find so little regard paid to St. Peter in his dominions, for neither any nuncio nor letters sent from the Apostolic See can make their way or receive any countenance in his kingdom without his Majesty's order". This same Guido later became Pope Calixtus II.

b. Pope Calixtus consecrated Thurstan; whereupon Henry forbade Thurstan and his family returning into any part of his dominions.

c. Henry retained his brother Robert in prison contrary to the Pope's command.

d. Peter, a Papal legate armed with authority to visit France, England, and Ireland, was denied the privilege of exercising his office in England.

(8) (9). Despite the prevalent opinion that the reign of John (1199-1216) was a complete failure from the point of view of liberty, the writer is convinced, after a review of the sources of information, that the Church gained very little and lost much in its humiliating the King. The Constitutions of Clarendon were declared void because force had been exerted upon Becket and some of the clergy. And yet the Papal legate, Pandulph, resorted to force to compel John to submit to the provisions of the Papal order, and to cause him to say that he did so by the suggestion of the Holy Spirit and not through fear of the interdict. And a little later the same Pope absolved the same King from his promises in the Magna Charta, on the ground that pressure had been brought to bear on him to force him to grant its provisions. Such duplicity was not

incapable of being perceived by even the unlettered folk of the realm. Further, it must be noted that by no means all of the clergy deserted John at the time of the Interdict, and that he was not without political champions who said the Pope had nothing to do with governing princes' subjects or dispossessing any person of property or civil rights. And, though the Magna Charta was annulled by the Pope, it was the means of crystallizing the sentiment of John's people against Rome. Matthew Paris thus represents the Londoners as speaking:-

" What have these apostolic prelates to do with the direction of our arms? These people, who understand griping and simony much better than the grounds of war, will needs make themselves absolute by their special authority, and domineer over the world with their Interdict".

(9)(10). We shall summarize the period intervening from John to the age of Ockham by brief excerpts, all except the last being taken from the "Statutes of the Realm":

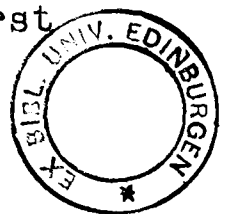
a. Stat. Merton.(1235). Regarding the changing of the laws governing the inheritance of bastards:-" All the barons and earls with one voice answered that they would not change the laws of the realm which hitherto had been used and approved"

b. Stat. Provisions (1259) stated:-"It shall not be lawful for men of religion to enter into any man's fee without the license of the chief lord of whom the fee is held".

c. The establishing the House of Commons and the first step in liberating the people through representative government (1265).

d. Decl. of Kenilworth (1267), in which the King and legates are petitioned to intervene and forbid people esteeming the late Earl of Leicester a saint or just one (sic).

e. Stat. Westminster (1275) Parliament insisted that clerics, given over to the church for punishment, should receive it.



f. Stat. Wales (1284). Laws of Sanctuary were revised that the Church might not continue to abuse the privilege.

g. Stat. Mortmain (1279). "If any person, religious or otherwise, do presume either by craft or device to offend against this statute (giving, selling, or bequeathing land to the Church) it shall be lawful to us and other chief lords of the fee to enter into the land and hold it in fee and inheritance".

h. In 1294 and 1295 the King demanded one-half of a year's income from the clergy and obtained it. The archbishop excommunicated all paying and all levying, which was ignored.

i. The barons, in behalf of the King defy the Pope as follows:- " Our sovrein lord the King is by no means obliged to own the jurisdiction of your court.... and as what is contrary to our duty is out of our liberty to grant, we neither do, nor will we allow any such undue, uncusomary usage: neither shall we concur with the King in case his highness should comply with it (the Pope's demand)". This letter is signed by almost a hundred barons, who had authority to speak for the nation.

It is felt unnecessary to proceed farther with this survey of the increasing spirit of liberty in civil affairs as it clearly exerted its influence upon the theory and doctrine of the Church in England. Ockham had not yet given the world his views regarding the nature and rights of the Church, and it was almost a century yet until Wyclif reached the height of his influence. But who shall wonder at the reception they received and their success when even in these centuries the intrusions of the Church were so fearlessly repulsed. One has the feeling that if subsequent leaders had been sufficiently free from a desire to parley with Rome, that the battle of the Reformation would have been waged in England long before Martin Luther nailed his Theses on the Church door of Wittenberg.

IV. Independent tendency of Church Legislation

Finally, we survey briefly - and it must indeed be briefly - the general tendency of Church legislation in itself. A list of Church Councils from from the fifth to the sixteenth centuries inclusive, as exact as the writer could prepare it without going too far afield from the main purpose of the thesis, is appended at the end of this work (Appendix A.) The councils and synods that were held in England, or in Britain which influenced England, are recorded there in red type.

(1). Beginning, again arbitrarily, with the Synod of Augustine's Oak (601), we discover that here the first revelation was made of the fundamental difference between the Latin and the Celtic Churches. Moreover here the Britons were able to penetrate the pretense of Augustine that he wished them to join him in evangelizing the Saxons, and to see underneath his words the desire that they submit to Rome and acknowledge him as their archbishop. Trivet, quoted by Spelman, affirms expressly that Augustine demanded the subjection of the Britons to himself as the Pope's legate. These words, the response of the Abbot of Bangor to Augustine, reflect the temper of the synod: " Be it known and that without doubt unto you, that we are all and everyone of us obedient and subjects to the Church of God, and to the Pope of Rome, and to every true Christian, and godly to love every one in his degree, in charity perfect, and to help everyone of them by word and deed to be the children of God; and other obedience than this I do not know due to him whom you name to be your

Pope, nor to be the father of fathers, to be claimed and to be demanded, and ~~this~~ obedience we are ready to give and to pay to him and to every Christian continually. Besides we are under the government of the bishop of Kaerlion upon Usk who is overseer under God over us to cause us to keep the way spiritual".

(2). The dispute between the two churches was continued at the Synod of Strenshal or Whitby (664). Here a disputation was held by the opposing forces before Oswy, King of Northumbria. Colman, bishop of Holy Isle, and also connected in some way with the see of York, presented the arguments for the Celtic practices: Wilfrid, later bishop of York, for the Papacy. The latter's dialectic skill was too much for Colman, and he and his party withdrew to their own provinces leaving the king a convert nominally to the Latins. No permanent good seems to have resulted from the disputation, other than that it revealed the arguments and motives of all concerned.

(3). In the Synod of Hertford (673), Theodore, archbishop of Canterbury, proposed ten canons which were accepted and published. These fixed the time of observing Easter, limited and restricted the power of bishops, forbade monks or clerks wandering about, and forbade unlawful marriages. There is no mention made of celibacy, sacraments, or the doctrine of the Church.

(4). King Ina, in 692, promulgated a body of ecclesiastical laws, only one of which we note here, - that children must be baptised before they are thirty days old, and must be

baptised before they die under penalty of forfeiture of estate to the king.

(5). The Synod of Berghamsted (696) required that the Church should be free and enjoy all its rights, and that prayers should be made for the king. Here appears in England the mediaeval law, "Benefit of Clergy", whereby persons belonging to a bishop's diocese may be prosecuted only in Church courts.

(7). At the Synod of Onestrefeld (702) Wilfrid accused the Synod of open opposition to the see of Rome for twenty-two years. His appeal from that Synod to Rome highly incensed the archbishop, who charged him with preferring the judgments of a foreign see to the synod of his own countrymen.

(8). A council held at Cloveshoe (747) gives many illuminating instances of the teaching and belief of the time. The eleventh canon urges uniformity in the exercise of ministerial functions - one of the perennial fetishes of Latin Church. In the twelfth canon theatricality in the service is forbidden, and priests must not adopt a tragic tone and manner in the service, but must do all simply and according to the custom of the Church. Moreover, one cannot hire another to do penance, sing psalms, and give alms for himself. (An indication of the tangent the conception of Penance had thus early naturally taken).

(9). The Synod of Calcuith (785) contains this significant statement in its canons: As the king is lord paramount in the State, so the bishop's authority is supreme in things relating to the government and discipline of the Church. The enactments of the synod also forbid bastards

inheriting, particularly the children of nuns. The rule and person of the Prince are to be given all honor and obedience because he is the chosen one of God (quia christus Domini est).

(10). The Synod of Calcuith (816) published eleven canons. It is interesting to note that a Scotchman was forbidden to celebrate mass or any other service or assist in it "quia incertum est nobis unde at ab aliquo ordinentur".
^{Scottish} The Church had already accepted the Latin requirements about Easter, baptism, etc; yet there seems to be a coldness ~~shown~~ shown towards it by the English Church. Evidently the Scots had taken the Papal representatives at their word and had surrendered no other rights than those Rome professed to require in her proposals to the Celtic Church. The synod also provided that if relics are lacking in a church ~~that~~ some of the eucharist may be kept in a pyx. This is in direct violation of the seventh canon of the second Council of Nicea.

(11). The Synod of Gratlea (928) enjoins the bishops to ferret out and punish by excommunication witchcraft and idolatry. The bishops are to be present at civil trials and to assist secular judges. There are instructions indicating that they are to prevent short weight or measure, and in all disputes the bishop's standard is the authoritative one. The fifth canon, in referring to trial by ordeal, refers to the bread of the sacrament as "panis eucharisticus": evidently the English Church had not yet accepted the doctrine of the bodily presence of Christ in the elements.

(12). About the year 969 the movement against the marriage of the clergy seems to have gained headway in England. The archbishop secured the aid of King Edgar to launch the attack, and thenceforth it was waged with increasing severity until practically all were nominally celibate. It seems the irony of fate that this same Edgar had to do penance for a ⁱlaison with a nun and the abduction of her from one of the convents. About the same time the Canon Law was changed to require the baptism of children within nine days from birth, and this by immersion (in chilly Britain!).

(13). In the time of Edward the Confessor these, among other, significant statutes were enacted for the Church: that those who hold anything of the Church or dwell on Church land shall not be obliged to answer any plea or action of trespass excepting in the ecclesiastical courts; whenever the king's court sits, if the Church has any business, those cases are to be tried first, that God and religion should always have the preference (!). There was as yet no direct prayer to the Virgin Mary, and the "Ave Maria" was not yet used in the service of the common people, though they were expected to know the "Pater Noster".

So the examination might be continued indefinitely - for the writer has outlined the material to the end of the fifteenth century. Lest the review become tedious, we pass finally to the Synod of Lambeth, which was held about the time of the birth of Ockham. It gives a fair idea of the vast amount of detail which had vitiated the true progress of the

Church.

There are fourteen articles of faith, seven containing the mystery of the Trinity, and seven the humanity of the Savior. The Ten Commandments are fully developed and explained. The two additional commandments of the New Testament are added. The seven works of mercy are enumerated. The seven deadly sins are enumerated and explained. The seven virtues are held forth and analyzed, and finally the seven sacraments, called "Sacramenta Gratiae", are expounded. Five of the latter are to be received by all Christians, and of the others Orders is reserved for the clergy and Matrimony for the laity. There are subjects upon which the clergy are required to preach every quarter, though Wyclif asserts this was not carried out.

We conclude with a brief quotation that expresses the general conception of the nature and function of the Church as conceived by the laity:

"Whereas late in the parliament of good memory of Edward King of England, grandfather to our lord the King that now is, the 35 year of his reign, holden at Carlisle, the petition heard put before the said grandfather and his council in his said parliament by the commonalty of the said realm containing,

that whereas the holy Church of England was founded in the estate of prelacy, within the realm of England by the said grandfather and his progenitors, and the earls, barons, and other nobles of the realm and their ancestors, to inform them and the people of the law of God, and to make hospitalities, alms, and other works of charity in the places where the churches were founded, for the souls of the founders, their heirs, and all Christians; and certain possessions, as well in fees, lands, rents, as in advowsons, which do extend to a great value, were assigned by the said founders to the prelates and other people of the holy Church of the said realm, to sustain the said charge".....(1).

From even this brief review it is evident that within

1. The Statutes of the Realm. I p. 316. "Statute of Provisors"

the body of Church legislation itself there is abundant evidence that submission to the Roman Hierarchy was attained only with great difficulty, and never in a complete sense. It is significant that the Papacy obtained its ends best in the period immediately before and after Edward the Confessor. Thereafter, although the sacramental theory and celibacy were enforced more strictly, yet there was always an element present in the councils of the church which necessitated concessions in favor of local government, and episcopal rather than papal authority.

Thus we conclude a brief review of the evolution of the theory and doctrine of the Church in England, having sought in the above pages to indicate some of the currents of thought and tendencies of practice which the first of our individual subjects, William of Ockham, found in the Church when he undertook his work.

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- Wilkins "Concilia Magnae Britanniae".
- Landon, E. H. "Manual of Councils of the Holy Catholic Church".
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III

WILLIAM OF OCKHAM

The following bibliography has been prepared with the life and Politico-Theological writings of Ockham especially in mind. For more general reference to his Philosophical and Logical works the standard English and German histories of Philosophy or Doctrine should be consulted, either under the title "Ockham" or "Nominalism".

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(s. v.) 1674.

OCKHAM'S WORKS

The following list of Ockham's works has been prepared from a comparison of the following sources, all published within comparatively recent times:

Little, A. G. "The grey friars at Oxford"

Seeberg, R. In the Realencyklopädie. 14. pp. 260-280.

Riezler, S. "Die Literarischen Widersacher". pp. 241-272

Poole, R. L. Dictionary of National Biography. (s. v.)

Lindsay, T. M. Encyclopædia Britannica (s. v.)

In most instances the present order of arrangement follows that of Little, whose critical and textual notes are most exhaustive and accurate.

It will be seen from the appended list of Ockham's works that many are yet in manuscript form. These were unavailable for the present undertaking. In like manner a great many of his works, printed in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, are very rare and were inaccessible. In preparing the present thesis the writer had access only to works marked thus: (*), which have reference to the problem of the Theory and Doctrine of the Church.

No publication of any of his works can be discovered since Goldast's "Monarchia" in 1614. There are no translations in any modern language, and the quotations available are usually abbreviated and worthless through lack of the context. Without doubt someone could make a permanent contribution to modern scholarship by doing for Ockham's works what such

men as Loserth, Buddensieg, Poole, and others have done for Wyclif's. But the task would be most tedious and the appeal to the public very limited.

WORKS

I. Philosophical and Theological.

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3. Quaestiones in octo libros physicorum
Printed in Rome, 1637
4. Quaestiones Ockam super physicam et tractatus eiusdem
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5. Summulae in libros physicorum. Printed in Venice, 1506.
6. Quaestiones in quatuor libros Sententiarum
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7. De motu, loco, tempore, relatione, praedestinatione, et
praescientia Dei. In MS form at Basel.
8. De successivis. In MS form at Paris.
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quaternitas. In MS form at Basel.
10. Quodlibeta septem. Printed in Paris, 1487.
- * 11. De Sacramento altaris. Strassburg, 1491.
12. De corpore Christi. Strassburg, 1491.
13. Quaestiones Ochan in terminabiles Alberti de Saxonia.
In MS form at Padua.
14. Sermones Occham. (Doubtful but included by Little)
In MS form at Worcester.
15. Notae aut disputationes. In MS form at Paris
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II. Political.

- * 1. Opus nonaginta dierum. (1330-1333. A. D.)
Printed in Louvain, 1481
- 2. Epistola ad Fratres Minores in Capitulo apud Assisium
congregatos. In MS form at Paris
- * 3. Dialogus inter magistrum et disciplium de Imperatorum
et Pontificum Potestate.
i. De fautoribus haereticorum. (1342-1343)
ii. De dogmatibus Johannis xxii (1333-1334)
iii. De gestis circa fidem altercantium. (1342-1343)
Printed in Lyons, 1495.
- 4. Defensorium (de paupertate Christi) contra Johannem
xxii. (1335-1349)
Printed in Venice, 1513.
- 5. De imperatorum et pontificum potestate.
In MS form at London.
- 6. Tractatus adversus errores Johannis xxii, or
Compendium. Printed in Louvain, 1481.
- 7. Opusculum adversus errores Johannis xxii.
In MS form, at Paris.
- 8. Tractatus ostendens quod Benedictus Papa xii nonnullas
Johannes xxii haereses amplexus est et
defendit. In MS form at Paris.
- 9. Tractatus oquā de potestate imperiali.
In MS form at Rome.
- * 10. Octo quaestiones super potestate ac signitate papali,
or De potestate pontificum et imperatorum.
In MS form at Paris.
(Thus Little. Why he omits its publication I do not
know. It is included in Goldast's "Monarchia".)
- * 11. De jurisdictione Imperatoris in causis matrimonialibus.
(1342) Printed in Heidelberg
1598.
- 12. De electione Caroli IV. In MS form at Rome

III. Works mentioned but not yet identified (Little).

- 1. De pluralitate formae
- 2. De invisibilis
- 3. Tractatus incipiens : "Dominus potest facere quod ...

4. Commentarium in Metaphysicam
5. De perfectione specierum
6. De paupertate Christi et Apostolorum
7. De Actibus hierarchicis
8. Errorum quos affinxit Papae Johanni xxii.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Much of the material necessary for even a brief summary of Ockham's life is incapable of verification and in great part legendary. Neither the date of his birth nor of his death is known, and, aside from exact dates available in Papal bulls concerning him and the movement in which he played a part, there is little of unquestioned historical fact to be had. But certain inferences may be drawn with a reasonable degree of safety: such, for instance, as that he received a baccalaureate degree at the University of Oxford before attending the University of Paris, where he was granted a higher degree. Such an inference rests upon known rules of university procedure of the time, which were in all probability observed in his case, else there would have been some note of a departure from them. At the same time the writer realizes the instability of an argument 'a silentio', and prefers to designate surmises and inferences as such.

William of Ockham was born probably in or near the village of Ockham, in the county of Surrey, a short distance from London (1), (2). The date of his birth is uncertain. K. Muller fixes it about 1270, but R. Seeberg (3) assigns a date

- 1. The following variations in the spelling of the name have been noted: Guilelmus, Guilermus, Guilhelmus, Guillermus, Guilelmus, Wilhelm, Willelmus, and William - Ocam, Occam, Occham, Ocham, Ockam, Ockham, Okam, Okan, Okham, Okkham, and Okkam. The writer feels there is most justification at the present time for the spelling - William of Ockham.
- 2. Seeberg, Realencyklopädie, 14, p. 260. for place of birth.
- 3. Seeberg, op. cit. p. 261

ten years later with seemingly convincing evidence for doing so. He entered the Franciscan Order, when young, and was apparently educated by them (1). Whether or not he was a student at Merton College cannot be finally settled, the traditional view (2) having been overturned by the examinations of rolls and records by more recent reviewers.(3). He seems to have obtained a degree at Oxford, and thereupon went to the Continent (4) and became connected with the University of Paris, probably first as a student and pupil of John Duns Scotus (5) and perhaps at a later date as a teacher there (6).

The date of Ockham's arrival in Paris has been placed^{by Seeberg} about 1315 (7), and the same investigator is sure that he did not afterwards return to England; however, this latter statement may be seriously questioned. It was during his stay in Paris that he is supposed to have met Marsiglio of Padua, and to have exerted the reputed influence on him which resulted in Marsiglio's views in the "Defensor Pacis" (8).

Until recent times it was assumed that Ockham was the "William" who represented his English group at the Chapter of Perugia (1322). It has now been shown (9), however, that the

1. Prof. Lindsay, in an article printed privately in 1872, says without apparent authority: "His great abilities induced the Franciscan monks to persuade him, while yet a boy, to enter their order...He was sent by his superiors to study at Oxford and entered Merton College".

2. Lindsay, op. cit.

3. Henderson, "Merton College". 1889. p 290 f.

4. Lambeth MS 221 - "Occam inceptor in Theologium"; Barth of Pisa calls him, "Bacalarius formatus Oxonie"; for journey to Continent see Little, "Grey friars at Oxford".

5. Seeberg. op. cit. p. 261.

6. Lindsay's statements regarding his amazing popularity there, while taken from earlier accounts, are probably not historic.

7. Seeberg. op. cit. p. 260.

8. Violent exception is taken to this by Sullivan. Poole accepts it. The chief authority is a remark of Pope Clements VI.

9. Brewer "Monumenta Francisca". I. pp. 551, 553 etc.

provincial representative there was William of Nottingham, though Ockham may well have attended in a private capacity. In view of the vigor with which he defended the "Spirituales" of the order after the time of that Chapter, his presence there seems quite probable. In this connection we are able to fix the first certain date in Ockham's life. On December 1, 1323, Pope John xxi, in a bull addressed to the bishops of Ferrara and Bologna, directed them to make an investigation of a sermon Ockham was reported to have delivered in Bologna in which he opposed the Pope's conception of "apostolic poverty". If the charges were found to be true, he was to be summoned to Avignon (1). The charge seems to have been substantiated, for shortly afterwards he was taken captive to Avignon, where he remained in prison for almost four years, the last seventeen weeks of which he was closely guarded and confined. The process instituted against him in the Curia proceeds thus: "On account of many mistaken and heretical opinions which he had written". He refused to modify his statements. Riezler, quoting John Vitoduran, states that a noble and wealthy lady, for his firm defence of 'apostolic poverty', gave him seventy gulden (2).

The length of Ockham's imprisonment is a much debated point. The older writers seem to agree that it was of seventeen weeks' duration; the more modern ones, Seeberg among them, holding that it covered the interval from the time of the

1. Wadding "Annales Minorum" -vii. 7; Raynaldus 1323: 62.

2. Riezler "Die Literarischen Widersacher..." p.71

Investigation ordered by the Pope until his escape, and that the seventeen weeks alluded to refer only to the last interval of the longer confinement. It is another of the problems that more searching investigation may solve. Meanwhile the writer is inclined to accept the latter view as being not only possible in the light of the evidence we have, but also quite the ordinary thing in accordance with the delays of the Avignon Court.

On May 25, 1328, Ockham escaped from Avignon, with ~~two~~ companions, and fled to Pisa which was at that time under the control of Louis iv of Bavaria. Here he awaited the return of Louis from Rome, whither he had gone to receive the Imperial crown (January 17, 1328) and to appoint a Franciscan as Pope under the name Nicholas v. (May 12, 1328). Louis had been excommunicated as early as March 21, 1324, but had successfully withstood the plotting of the Papacy, and the dread interdict (July 11, 1324) had not withdrawn from him the support of his faithful subjects. Even the laying waste of the March of Brandenburg by neighboring tribes at the Pope's instigation had not compelled him to submit. He had invaded Italy in retaliation at the time Ockham and his ~~two~~ companions, Cesena, and Bonagratia, came to join him. Louis found the Italian support too inconstant and withdrew, leaving his self-appointed Pope to the tender mercies of John xxii. The legend, originating probably with Tritheim, that Ockham promised to defend Louis with his pen if the latter would defend him with his sword was probably true in substance since each needed the support of the other.

Events now moved rapidly. On May 28, three days after Ockham's escape from Avignon, John xxii sent letters to all bishops and princes in Italy to seize Ockham for fleeing from his trial. On June 6, John excommunicated him and the others with him, and said that Ockham, in dogmatic form, had uttered many heresies. On June 20 he sent a bull to the Archbishop of Milan and his Synod informing them of this action he had taken.

In February of 1330 Ockham accompanied Louis back to Bavaria; but during all the intervening time John continued to hound him, sending, in 1329, letters to the German bishops and also the princes warning them of his coming and commanding them to seize him and return him to Avignon. A second excommunication was published (1329) and the Papal Commander of the Franciscan Order, Geraldus Odo, forbade hospitality to him by any members of the order. In April 1330, when the fugitives had arrived in Germany and were still free, John commanded all the German ecclesiastics to seize them, and later increased the charges against Ockham to include writing books that were heretical; also reaffirming that he taught 'apostolic poverty' and said that Christ and His disciples had no property. At a later date John summoned Ockham and his companions to a general council to be held May 10, 1331, and decreed that whether or not they appeared they were to be proceeded against.

About this time the following especially dangerous errors were charged to Ockham (1): that he taught,

1. The Emperor may depose the Pope.

1. Raynaldus. op. cit. 15.

2. The people and clergy of Rome may do the same.
3. That the deposition of John xxii by Louis and the elevation of Nicholas v was done legally.
4. That the laws of John xxii are heretical despite the regularity of his election.
5. To obey the Pope is heretical.

From this time dates the strange alliance between Louis iv of Bavaria and William of Ockham. Louis vacillated often between a reunion with Rome and his position of open opposition. In 1336 he accused Ockham to the Pope of the responsibility for his own waywardness. But in 1338 we find him requesting Ockham to draw up an appeal for him from the Pope to a general council..In the same year he urged Ockham to discuss the spheres of Ecclesiastical and Imperial authority in writing, which it seems Ockham did in his "Octo Quaestiones". So they continued together in purpose until the death of Louis in 1347, Ockham residing in a convent in Munich. Cesena had already died, as had Bonagratia, and Ockham was left alone. Seeberg (1) pictures him a decrepit and broken old man - which may or may not be true, according to one's own imagination. At sixty years of age one need not necessarily be thought of as a doddering and pitiful relic of humanity.

In 1347 Ockham sent back to the orthodox General of the Order the seal of it which he had received from Cesena at the latter's death, and it seems that he then expressed a desire

13. Seeberg op. cit. p. 263

to be received back into the Church. The bull is extant in which Pope Clement vi specified the conditions upon which his absolution could be obtained. They were not especially difficult, except that Ockham - as one would expect - was required to renounce his errors and to submit to the authority of the Pope and his successors. There is no evidence, however, that he ever retracted and was restored. Little and Poole, in their discussions, leave the matter open; Seeberg and Riezler seem to think he did not, but died independently as he had lived.

Regarding the date of his death various statements have been made. Certainly, according to Trithem and the Papal encyclical of June 8, 1349, he cannot have been dead^{long} before that date else the Pope would not have given attention to the matter of his submission, as mentioned above. But his tombstone in Munich recorded his death as April 10, 1347. There may have been an error in engraving the last figure of the year, since most are agreed that the day and month should be April 10, in any case. This much is certain: that by Pentecost of 1349 Ockham had withdrawn from the conflict with the Pope.

Wadding indicates a possibility that he might have died at Capua in 1320, but this theory is manifestly out of the question. Another tradition seems to indicate that he was buried at Carinola, also impossible. The present writer is inclined to accept the date, April 10, 1349, as being the most likely, everything considered. The limits of his life then are 1280 - 1349, and his available Political works are produced between 1330 and 1347.

THE NATURE OF THE CHURCH

Upon examining Ockham's writings it becomes very evident that he was not concerned primarily or perhaps even remotely with formulating a definite theory of the Church. In this respect he does not follow his distant predecessor, Augustine, although he reveals a surprisingly thorough knowledge of the latter's writings. Neither does he attempt as much in this direction as Thomas Aquinas. He was not immediately concerned with a philosophic analysis of the concept, but accepted - as did most others of his time - current definitions and standards, and only gave conscious attention to them when some such issue as 'apostolic poverty' or 'plenitudo potestas^{t/s}' is the subject of his argument.

And yet these incidental glimpses, when collected and systematized, reveal a dual importance in Ockham's work. First, in his positive conception of the Church as a vital organization, made up of common people and existing for the education and salvation of the common people. Therefore he places his emphasis upon such elements of authority, discipline, and ministry as should make the Church humanistic and democratic. Second, in a negative sense, in his attitude towards the Hierarchy that called into question the entire system of Gregory the Great, Aquinas, and Innocent iii, and made possible, and indeed necessary, the departure from its theories of Wyclif and those others, who later came to consider the Church as

The '^{predestinati}~~predestinati~~' and as quite different from the thirteenth century conception of it that Ockham had received as a heritage.

In the second decade of the century in which Ockham was born, Innocent iii prepared and had approved by the Fourth Lateran Council (1215) a statement of the theory of the Church and of its authority in human affairs which was in its consequences the most definite and far-reaching of Mediaeval pronouncements thus far. In this Innocent stated that there was one holy and universal Church out of which there could be no salvation. This Church was clearly identified as the Church of Rome. Thomas Aquinas stated that the Church was the same as the Assembly of the Faithful, and that every Christian is therefore a member of the Church. He commonly refers to it in his "Summa" as the "Communio Fidelium". Gregory the Great, who, with Gregory vii, probably did more than any other to crystallize the conception of the Church as such, had said:-

"The present Church is called the Kingdom of Heaven - for the Congregation of the Saints is said to be the Kingdom of Heaven". It is "one holy universal Church. In this there can be neither the evil without the good, nor the good without the evil. All who are without it will by no means be saved. Only the Church's sacrifice avails".

To all this smug assurance Ockham took subtle but effective exception, and accomplished his purposes while showing in his writings a real regard for the Church as an Institution.

He is aware of the various senses in which the word "Church" has been used and of the consequent confusion in the minds of many regarding it. He writes thus: "'Ecclesia' as a name is variously interpreted in writings. Sometimes it is understood as the local body set apart for holy ministering; sometimes it is understood as some certain group of the clergy especially; sometimes as all the body of the clergy; sometimes for the multitude of the clergy and the Pope; sometimes for all the body of the faithful (*tota congregatio fidelium*) sojourning in this mortal state; and indeed sometimes the name 'ecclesia' includes not only all the body of the catholic faith now alive (*totam congregationem catholicorum viventium*) but also the faithful dead (*fideles mortuos*)".(1).

From this passage near the beginning of the "Dialogus", in a context in which the matter of heretics and the methods of dealing with them is discussed, it is evident that Ockham had thought sufficiently about the Church to be aware of the various aspects of it and of the claims made by it and for it. The definitions given in the foregoing paragraph are not sufficiently broad, for in the paragraph following the above he observes that Augustine held the last of the conceptions mentioned, and notes that Augustine limited his meaning by including only the bishops and the people from the time of Christ to the present. But Ockham is convinced that this is in many respects too narrow a view, because the prophets and all under the Old Covenant must be included in an universal Church. Not, he says, that there is any criticism of the

1. Dialogus in Goldast's 'Monarchia' Vol ii. p. 402

conception of the Church since the time of Christ as that; but that the idea is not sufficiently broad and inclusive, since the whole must necessarily be greater than any of its parts, and the Church Universal cannot be limited to the Roman or even the Christian expression and form of it. (1). Incidentally this is the shibboleth by ^{which} he detects the falsity of many Papal doctrines. There must be salvation aside from this modern organization, else those before its time and those without it are most unfortunate; and the Pope must not exercise absolute control and condition all salvation for the same reason.

But Ockham penetrates still deeper into current conceptions of the "ecclesia", and makes this significant observation: "Never in Holy Scripture are the laity excluded from the term "ecclesia"; but everywhere in Holy Writ the name "ecclesia" ^{signifies} men and women and laity. And just as God is God of the clergy, so is He God of the laity" (2). This sort of reasoning lays the axe at the foot of an Hierarchical conception of the Church, and is significant because it refutes the claims of those who made the Church consist of the clergy, or the clergy and Pope, or the College of Cardinals and the Pope. And this qualification of the term must be borne in mind when considering the common phrases Ockham uses for the Church and its component parts.(3).

In developing this important idea, we find him expressing it thus: "Just as at first the catholic faith was estab-

1. Dialogus. op. cit. p. 402 ff.
 2. ²ibid. p. 631
 3. ²ibid. p. 501

lished in simple folk (idioti), passing by priests and religious men and officials; so if all the learned and powerful are given to wickedness, it is still possible to build the structure of the true Church upon the poor, the simple, the unlettered, and the peasantry" (1). Again he says, "All the priesthood may err concerning the faith", (2), and continues to this most significant observation: "Paul says, I Cor. 8 (3) that our faith is not in the wisdom of men but in the ministering of God, which is as possible to the laity as to the learned and the clergy" (4). Furthermore, "The faithful laity belong just as much to the congregation of the saints (congregatio fidelium) as the clergy" (5). And it is evident further, "that all believers are one body even as Paul has said in Romans, 'we many are one body in Christ'" (6).

Bearing in mind then Ockham's purpose to defend all the parts of the Church against the infringements of the others, so that Prince, Pope, bishops, council, or the Roman Church may not exercise undue influence, we shall note briefly the expressions he uses for the Church.

The Church is often spoken of by him as the "Congregatio Fidelium".

This expression is not original with Ockham. But in the light of his deeper concern and interest and his breadth of meaning, the words become quite different in their content

1. Ibid. p. 498

2. Ibid. p. 500

3. Evidently I Cor. 8:6 - "But to us there is but one God, the Father, of whom are all things, and we in him; and one Lord Jesus, by whom are all things, and we by him".

4. Dialogus op. cit. p. 500

5. Ibid p. 603

6. Ibid. p. 603

from the same words as used by Thomas Aquinas or Innocent iii. In the latter instances the idea of the organization as a machine or executive unit was uppermost in mind; in the case of Ockham the "congregatio" included all men everywhere who truly believed. Perhaps one might with fairness say that the former men placed the emphasis on the "fidelium" and hedged it about with difficult and doubtful qualifications, while Ockham placed the emphasis on the idea of the "congregatio", the great body who, living and dead, were united in the bond of eternal fellowship.(1).

Again, he uses to describe the Church the expression, "Communitas fidelium".

This expression is a confirmation of the tendency to which we have just referred, of placing emphasis upon the individuals of the great organization, and upon them in relation to each other rather than upon the body as a single unit of action. The reason for his use of the term "communitas" is apparent in his writings. The Church was constituted early in human history because man had fallen from a state of innocence in which he was created. In this original state man lived under common law (ius naturalis). He was in subjection to no man and property was held in common (communiter). With man's fall (lapsus) these benefits of innocence were lost to him, and not only was it necessary to restrict his actions for the benefit of society by laws, but the plan of saving man must be formulated. Naturally the state of original innocence

1. Ibid. pp. 603, 799, 806, 405, etc.

and community of purpose should be part of the ideal conception towards which the body of believers moved. One who had not sufficiently analyzed Ockham's expressions and manner of thought might indeed characterize him as a "communist" in the present sense of the word. But such ^{judgment} ~~action~~ would be manifestly unfair to him; for he was a Franciscan, pledged to poverty and communality in all his possessions, and his deep sympathy for all classes and kinds of men made him express in economic terms the truth which was doubtless nothing more than a deep moral and ethical principle with him. In this case, his is a spiritual "communitas"...(1).

Or, he uses the term, "Universalis Ecclesia", in speaking of the Church.

In the instance cited the expression is used in comparison with "concilium generale". If one understands his and Marsiglio of Padua's conception of a general council - one that was really representative and universal in its composition - then it becomes clear that the term calls attention to the conception of the Church as all true servants of God. Most mediaeval writers, in using the expression "universalis" intended it to represent only the "Ecclesia Romana", that was - or at least should be - the only important and universal Church. We have already noted that the Latin Church, as early as the Synod of Whitby, attempted to force this conception upon the Saxon Christians, who were members of the Celtic Church. Ockham's use of the term is consonant with his insist-

1. Ibid pp 932 ~~ff.~~, 893,
"Opus Nonaginta Dierum". Goldast's "Monarchia". p. 1144.

ence, ^{upon including} in the Church the pre-Christian, Roman, Greek, and all other forms of the great body, whatever their state, who had found God. (1).

Finally the expression "Apostolicus Ecclesia" is cited as one of Ockham's terms for describing the nature of the Church.

In the use of this expression he could, had he so desired, have declared himself naturally ~~and~~ irrevocably for the Roman Church and its Papal and Hierarchical expression. But, in his canny fashion, he neither thus accedes, nor, on the other hand, does he needlessly flaunt his defiance. To him, along with all the other pioneers in the direction of the reformation, it must have been evident that needless antagonism and provocation would only crystallize resistance to the ideas he desired to convey. And - as in other connections we shall have occasion to refer to it - it seems quite unreasonable a man who has upon his heart the mission of imparting a great truth should be condemned because he chooses to work as quietly as possible and from within the organization he desires to reconstruct, instead of attacking from without with hue and cry and firebrands.

He says: "The article of faith, "Unam Sanctam Ecclesiam retains its unity (una) on account of the unity of the faith and the accord of the apostles".(2). The theory of the Church as a unity comes therefore not from the dogma that makes men

1. Dialogus. op. cit. 653

2. Ibid. 814

conform to it, but from the deeper unity of the Scriptures, and the apostles in their lives and teachings. This, as is apparent, is something quite different from what Innocent iii had in mind when he had the Fourth Lateran Council thus define the Church and the faith.

The writer feels it unnecessary to aduce other instances and expressions illustrating Ockham's theory of the nature of the Church. The above seem sufficient to indicate that he differed fundamentally in his conception from that one current in Gregory the Great, Hildebrand, Innocent iii, and Boniface viii. And further: that while he used the terminology common to his time in speaking of the Church, yet the contexts throughout the "Dialogus", the "Octo Quaestiones", and the "Nonaginta Dierum" are such that it is clearly seen he attached other meaning than the common one to the most of the expressions.

One might perhaps summarize Ockham's conception of the nature of the Church thus:

una universalis et apostolica communitas fidelium.

AUTHORITY IN THE CHURCH

If it has been correct to assume that Ockham manifested no particularly philosophic attitude towards the problem of the nature of the Church, it would be entirely incorrect, however, to assume that he thus regarded the matter of authority in the Church. Here one may find abundant evidences, not alone of his Nominalistic attitude with its consequent questionings and testing of intellectual assumptions, but also of his highly developed logical method by which he searchingly and exhaustively analyzes every process. However much one may be wearied by endless subdivisions, repetitions, and hair-splittings and there are almost innumerable numbers of them - one is forced to admire his painstaking effort and to conclude that the analysis in any particular case has been as complete as logic and effort could make it. Ockham's tendency towards Rationalism made him an admirable speculator in in this and the other aspects of the Church we shall consider.

Men have ever felt the need of some standard of authority, and have adopted individually such an one as is best suited to their personal philosophy of life. At various points between, on the one hand, the mechanical conception of an infallible Pope, and, on the other, the dictation of a personal reason or whim, man somewhere drops anchor. We should have experienced little surprises, doubtless, if Ockham had aligned

himself with those who found authority in the accepted organization of the Church. He was a child of his age, trained in a monastic discipline that would ordinarily not be expected to engender nonconformity. He lived at a time when the Church had attained an amazing amount of power, and when the Papacy, during his own lifetime, had been exalted to the position of divine oracle and universal sovereign.

But, in the first place, Ockham rejected the authority of the Pope in matters of faith - that is rejected it 'per se' and made it depend on the Pope and the circumstances. He cites evidences that the Pope could and did err in matters of faith. There seem to^{be} hundreds of instances in his extended works, but we cite only a few:-

"The following popes have erred: Peter, Marcellinus, Liberius, Anastasius, Symmachus, Leo, Sylvester ii, John xxii, etc. (1)^x

The decretals of the following popes cannot be accepted by believers: decretals or writings of John xxii, decretals and rescripts of Gregory ix, Innocent iv, Alexander iv, Nicholas iii, Clement v, and others. (2)^x.

Further: " The blessed Marcellinus was an idolater, Anastasius ii favored heresy, Pope Stephen shamefully desecrated the dead body of Pope Formosus by placing the body in a council, divesting him of his Papal vestments, clothing him as a layman, cutting off the two fingers of his right hand, and casting the body into the Tiber. Pope Sergius iv exhumed the body of Pope Formulus, and after

desecrating it cast it into the Tiber, and ~~degraded~~(deordina-
vit) all those whom he had ordained". (1)

He refers often to the vices of the period of the Pornocracy - too well known to need repetition here - and finds no little amusement in the doctrinal complications and embarrassment arising from the unfortunate incumbency of the female Pope for two years, four months, and twenty three days (2).

"There are those who hold", he says, "that the Pope is the representative of God on earth, that men are bound to uphold him and believe he does justly whatever he does. It follows from this that if the prelates should see the Pope invoking evil spirits, blaspheming Christ, denying the faith, committing adultery, slaying the innocent, forswearing the Church, selling benefices, or putting money out for usury, that they should excuse him". (3).

From these instances one may conclude that Ockham had no delusions as to the right and ability of the Pope to speak authoritatively in the Church on matters of faith. There was no "plenitudo potestatis" in a spiritual - to say nothing of material - sense in the Papacy.

Nor would Ockham transfer this authority to any other individual or body of men. Certainly the Emperor did not enjoy it, since in spiritual things he was ordinarily subject to the

1. Ibid pp. 469 - 475.

2. I set down the months and days from memory, having lost my page reference. The substance is accurate, however, and he has no doubts about the actuality of the popess. Recent investigations seem to indicate that modern scholarship has been a little too broad-minded in discarding the very general mediaeval belief as a myth.

3. Ibid. p. 557.

Church, and could only interfere to protect the rights of the people. He had, however, no special authority in such cases.

The college of the Cardinals may err and therefore have no final authority. Both Ockham and Marsilio¹ are aware of the abuses that have crept into the Church through this method of electing Popes, for they are aware of the fact that the so-called "College" is composed of men chosen to carry out certain purposes, and often of men appointed to office in the Church for political or diplomatic reasons rather than for religious purposes. Many had been appointed who manifested no interest in religion but were sons of nobility or "nephews" of Popes.⁽¹⁾

The decretals are unreliable. He cites one classic example to support his contention: "A great canonist said and left it uncorrected in his writings that St. Paul was one of the twelve who followed Christ as disciples" (2). The writings of the fathers, and the instructions of the "doctores" may in like manner be in error (3).

Where shall truth be found? One might expect Ockham to reply, "In a General Council". In a council that should be truly general in its scope and constituency there was undoubtedly much attractiveness. But Ockham admits that even such a council may err, advancing different reasons for his statement. A General Council would at best be convened by a Pope or Convention who were not authoritative. It would be composed

1. Ibid. pp. 822, 844, etc.
2. Ibid. p. 631
3. Ibid. pp. 822, 844, etc.

of clergy and laity, the former guilty of avarice, simony, and ambition; and the latter uninformed and unauthoritative.(1).

Elsewhere he categorically states the logical reasons why a General Council could not be accepted as authority in matters of faith, and his reasoning and conclusions are both so interesting that I shall set down the conclusions: "A General Council may err

1. Because the Pope, who in the same way as a General Council represents the universal Church, has erred; ergo.

2. Because a congregation that may be dissolved by human authority cannot be ~~innerant~~^{inerrant}. Christ promised His presence to be with His Church to the end of the ages; hence it is indissoluble. But a General Council may be dissolved. Ergo.

3. Persons who living in separate places may err will none the less ~~err~~ when they come together to one place, for this association will not prevent them from becoming perverted.

4. Only the power of God preserves the Church from error, without convocation or authority of men. But in a General Council none are summoned except by human authority. Ergo.

5. If a General Council cannot err it is because of a. its Wisdom; b. its Sanctification; c. its authority and power; d. the permission of Christ. He logically proves the impossibility of all these. Ergo".(2)

Ockham goes still further and ^{asserts} that the whole body of Christianity might err in the faith. The two characters of the

1. Ibid. pp. 828-831
2. Ibid. pp. 494-495

"Dialogus", the Magister and the Discipulus, after some interesting passages of dialectics, are agreed that somewhere within the body of Christianity the true Faith will be preserved. But, in order to force the matter to its extreme logical conclusion, the pupil urges the master to think up some reasons to prove that the entire body of Christianity might err, and the master obliges with five proofs. However, it is felt that the possibility is proved so clearly as to be as fatal as if the fact had been proved. So a loop-hole must be provided, and it is done in this manner:

If the presence^{that} Christ has promised will remain with His Church to the end of the ages should be lost to men and women, nevertheless the Faith of Christianity will be preserved by the baptised children, who receive Grace and Purity (*gratia et virtutes*) in their baptism. (1).

This is an interesting glimpse of Ockham's theory of the sacraments, and will be discussed later. But it does not explain how children, however innocent, might come to maturity and propagate the faith in them in an atmosphere of error and sin. Perhaps the alternative suggested is that each generation, in the act of baptism, begins anew in the true faith, with the minds and heritages removed ~~as~~ a true 'tabula rasa'. But we must not press Ockham too closely here, for he was, in the present instance, concerned with destructive criticism in an effort to purge from the mind of men the tendency to believe in human infallibility and authority.

1. Ibid. p. 506

The significance of these admissions of possible error in the whole (Gota) Church and in a General Council must not be overlooked by us in these latter days. Ockham and Marsiglio both sought some authority to set over against that of the Papacy. There is little doubt but that Marsiglio rested his case ultimately upon the idea of the General Council, which he had developed and defined in such fashion as to insure its being free from faults. And there is no doubt but that Ockham regarded a General Council, convened by the Pope or by delegates of the Universal Church, as the logical and sole court of appeal. It was to such a council that Ockham assisted Lewis iv to prepare his appeal, and if he had himself fallen into the hands of the Pope, it would have been to such a council that he would have appealed finally - and probably without avail. But it is an index of the integrity of the man, and of the honesty of his logical processes, that he was willing to admit and demonstrate the weakness of even a General Council

This sentence, in a discussion of the possibility of error in a General Council, will reveal Ockham's view about the matter of authority; "A General Council that cannot err in matters of faith is not necessary for the Church, because however much it should err in respect to the body of doctrine or believers, nevertheless it is possible to be saved by the true and catholic faith. Nay more, the Holy Scriptures are available, by which the errors of a General Council are capable of being exposed if it should differ in any respect from them". (1).

1. Ibid. p. 829

Here Ockham finds authority in the Church. And it is an authority that cannot err and is not subject to the weaknesses of other proposed authorities,^{and} which may be accepted and trusted as a sure guide in seeking salvation. "Only concerning the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments it is forbidden to doubt" (1). He follows Augustine especially closely in this entire chapter (Part I, Book 2, Cap. 1). And, again following Augustine, he states the matter in another fashion, "that outside of Holy Scriptures no true catholic doctrine will be found. And contained in them is such truth as requires no approval of Church or Pope" (2). In them are found the true test to detect heresy, and not in Popes or Church doctrines (3.). "One who asserts ~~that~~ any part of the Old or New Testaments states anything untrue or anything that is not to be held by catholics is a heretic"(4). "The Holy Scriptures are true in every part, and without such qualities they would be improper guides in matters of belief, and would become like the writings of philosophers, poets, and others"(5).

Ockham conceives of the Scriptures as being capable of a four-fold interpretation : " Hystoricus, Allegoricus, tropologicus, et anagogicus". In this he follows the custom of his time. His explanation, sketched briefly, of the method is as follows: "Historical method is a narration of things completed, through which those which were done in past time are revealed for the present. Allegorical method is the pre-

1. Ibid. p. 411
2. Ibid. p. 419
3. Ibid. p. 432
4. Ibid. p. 432
5. Ibid. p. 822

figuring of a truth by the use of an incident in the past, with reference to instruction in the faith; e.g. Noah in the Ark prefigures Christ in the Church, and the serpent on the staff prefigures Christ on the cross. Scriptures are interpreted tropologically when through one thing already done something else which should be done is made known, which pertains to instructing morals and preserving true principles either openly or by figurative instruction. The anagogical method is one by which the invisible things of God become known through those already revealed. The word is derived from "ana", which means 'up', and "gagē", which is a 'drawing' or 'leading', because it leads up to a knowledge of things above the heavens" (1).

It would be unnecessary and unwise to multiply instances of the reference Ockham makes to Holy Scripture as the absolute and inerrant authority in the Church. One who even so much as scans a hundred pages of the "Dialogus" will be convinced of the fact that in the canonical writings of the Old and New Testaments Ockham found that which would assuredly satisfy man's sense of the need of guidance in spiritual things.

But there remain two matters which should be discussed: his conception of authority itself, and his alleged use of ambiguous paradoxes.

With regard to Ockham's conception of authority, it has been stated by Seeberg and other modern scholars that

1. "Compendium Errorum Goldast 6p. Cit. p. 957

Ockham merely exchanged an infallible pope for an infallible Bible. I fail to see either the fairness or pertinency of such a statement. From a merely utilitarian point of view (and who would be satisfied to consider the matter from that alone?) there was no other way by which the false and deeply rooted conception of human and personal authority in the Church could be removed. His critics must be aware that the Reformation, at a period of knowledge and experience later by two hundred years than Ockham's, was made possible by this same conviction and assertion that the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments are the sole external authority of the Christian. Therefore one must question the pertinency of the criticism. Moreover, it is manifestly unfair to judge a writer by standards of critical opinion developed at a period more than five hundred years after his time. The conception of any fault attaching itself to a belief in the infallibility of Holy Scripture is a comparatively recent one, and it is quite probable that by no means all Christians, even in this day, would concur in the assumptions of the criticism.

Mr. R. L. Poole (1) is unsatisfied with Ockham's use of the "Scriptural paradox of truth vouchsafed to little children". He desires to know just what Ockham meant by "revelation", stating that "he is not sure, or at least does not tell us his opinion of the limits to which the name is to be restricted". It might be suggested that a careful reading of Ockham will remove most of the uncertainty in the

in the latter case; and as regards the "paradox", it seems that Ockham has found in Scriptural language an expression for the condition arrived at by following logical processes of reason to the place where he is convinced that there can be no inerrancy in man or any body of men, and on the other hand by following his instinctive faith in the statements that God will not permit himself to be without a true witness. He cites God's statement to Elijah, that there were still those who had not proved faithless, and he contends that in like manner there will always remain a body of true believers, and some priest to administer the sacraments. How any mediaeval man - or modern, for that matter - can otherwise bridge this space where reason despairs and yet faith confidently clings than by this indefinite and paradoxical manner is quite unknown to most of us. To adapt the well-known words: "If this be 'paradox', make the most of it".

Thus he concludes: "The believing Christians are the Church, and the Holy Scripture is their only authority". (1).

GOVERNMENT AND DISCIPLINE

The two preceding divisions may be said to represent Ockham's theory or philosophical conception of the Church. In them has been indicated the foundation he lays for the reforms he proposes, by showing, on the one hand, the grounds for his opinion, and, on the other hand, by discrediting at its very source the authority of the Papal system.

But Ockham, like Marsiglio, was not content to prove the inherent weakness of a system and rest there: the matters which concerned him were of such sort that immediate and practical reformation of them was above everything else the pressing need. So Ockham gives what may be two-thirds of the total amount of his writing to a careful process of reducing and dismantling the citadel of the Papal Hierarchy, and he devotes but one-third to indicating constructive methods of thinking and acting. His procedure needs no justification, for the system he attacked was well fortified in the general public opinion, in self-defensive legislation and precedents, and in possession of authority and power that were at once awesome and vindictive.

I. Church Government

The writer confesses his inability to systematize and correlate all of Ockham's statements concerning his conception of Church Government, because of the many points of view from which he approaches the matter, and the habit - of which Mr. R. L. Poole has justly complained - of causing one or other

of the personages in a dialogue to give expression to statements that cannot be labelled and classified anywhere, because one is not certain whether they represent the views of Ockham himself or of people in general (aliqui). But, so far as is possible, the writer will set down Ockham's ideas concerning these matters, gathered from the "Octo Questiones", "Dialogus", "Compendium Errorum", "Opus Nonaginta Dierum", and "Tractatus de Iurisdictione Imperatoris".

As will be shown more fully in the following division, Ockham was by nature an individualist. While it was frequently necessary for him to conceive of men as united in social groups, as, for instance, in the Church, or State, or General Council, yet his interest is quite evidently in the welfare of man as a man and not in relation to any organization. Of course he was not alone in this, since Marsiglio before him and an almost unbroken sequence of reformers after him until the time of Luther and the Reformation were all impressed by the inherent value of the individual.

Now the theory of Church Government under the Papacy was one of distinct opposition to anything that savoured of individual initiative or rights. True, the popes upon elevation to the Papal throne became exceedingly and sometimes amusingly individualistic; but that was a situation quite different by its very nature. It has been stated previously in this thesis that one form of the conflict between the Latin and Celtic influences in England was manifested in the reaction of the Celtic monks against the Latin tendency to compel uniformity, and thus to make impossible the exercise by an individual of

private habits of thinking and acting.

The tendency to socialization and uniformity was, however, not confined to monastic life. It is rather apparent that the mediaeval Latin Church depended for its very existence upon the principle of uniformity. In no other way could the international organization of the Papacy have been maintained than by thinking of men in all lands as great masses of people, more or less alike in temperament and needs, and subject to the same processes of discipline and government. It is reported that Pope Gregory the Great instructed the monk, Augustine, to allow the Britons as much latitude as possible in forms of worship and observance. But even he, thus early, insisted in the observance of these major customs which should mark the Britons as members of the great Latin body. And, needless to say, the liturgies and the Mass were extremely effective standardizing and conventionalizing agencies wherever the influence of the Latin Church extended.

Ockham, however, made the individual in government and even more especially in discipline the unit of judgment and procedure. And it is possible to account for his doing so on at least three grounds:

- (1). His theory of the function of Government .
- (2). His experience as a Spiritual Franciscan.
- (3). His condition as an excommunicated member of the court of Lewis IV.

(1). Ockham, and Marsiglio as well, believed in that extremely democratic principle that has been expressed in modern days in the expression, " the governing derive all their

authority from the consent of the governed". Not only was a king elected to his office by the choice of the people, but his acts as a sovereign were subject to the review of the people (1). Therefore if a king became a tyrant or heretic, he was subject to removal by his constituents (2), and failure to remove him placed the responsibility for his misdeeds upon the citizens who permitted him to retain his office (3). But Ockham held like views regarding the Church and its government. The Pope was chosen as head of the Church, and as such was responsible to it. In the case of his being guilty of any of the list of crimes to which the office and his human nature exposed him, he is subject to the same method of review as the Prince, and might be removed from office by the Prince if he felt that the welfare of the Church demanded it. In this sense the Pope becomes a servant of the Church, and his more or less empty but nobly pretentious title, "Servus Servorum Dei" becomes a reality. Not that Ockham would have desired the highest office of the Church to be prostituted by political machinations; he had a high regard, as we shall see shortly, for the chair of St. Peter. But he was firmly convinced in his own mind that the Church did not exist for the benefit of the Pope, or the cardinals, or the bishops, but that they existed because of and for the sake of the Church. The sole function of Church Government, therefore, is the common good.

(2). In addition, Ockham doubtless found his experience as a "Spiritual" Franciscan modifying his conception of Church government. There is no need to suppose that Ockham was any

1. Dialogus. Op. Cit. p. 924

2. Ibid. p. 878

3. Octo Questiones. Op. Cit. p. 341.

more conscientious than others of his party - though the writer is deeply impressed with his evidently sincere religious attitude - and no evidence that he felt the burden of the Papal Hierarchy more than they. But his experience in the fellowship as well as the literature of the Order made him aware of some very evident weaknesses in the government of the Church of the time. For him, too much authority in the interpretation of doctrine and in government was centered in the Pope. So long as the Pope is sane and historic in his method, all is well. But too often, as Ockham frequently points out, the popes have been deceived by appearances and have been led into absurd situations, embarrassing the entire Church. Moreover, the judgments and government of these heads of the Church have lacked consistency because of a deeper lack of common purpose. Greed, desire for power, and revenge have misled the responsible agents in Church Government. And finally, the Papacy has not, in its method, remained faithful to the historic principles of the Institution. Here Ockham's amazing knowledge of Literature and History, of the Bible and Canon Law stood him in good stead. The reader of Ockham is early convinced that his theories are what they are, not because Ockham was carried away by an impulse, but because his position as a fanatic, a "Spiritual", taught him his deliberate procedure.

(3). Finally, Ockham's own experience in falling under the discipline of the Church deepened his conviction in support of a form of individualism as desirable for the Church. We shall shortly consider excommunication and the inter-

dict, two dreaded weapons of the Church. Men in all stations of life had been brought to submission by these methods. Papal dungeons were filled with those who had been forced to submit, and the arm of the State had visited summary punishment on those the Church had turned over to it. And Ockham saw, as practically all the "Opus Nonaginta Dierum", and the "Compendium Errorum Johannis XXII" demonstrated, that these punishments were arbitrarily imposed and were often expressions of splenetic temper on the part of the governing bodies, or, as in the case of Count Raymond of Toulouse, of deep laid and sinister plans.

Ockham opposed, as did Marsiglio, the idea of the "Plenitudo potestatis" as inherent in the Pope. This doctrine is at the bottom of the abuse of Church Government. In extensive sections, too long to permit quoting here, Ockham attacks that idea and is quite successful in combating the principle of it. He realizes that the Papacy has taken the words of Jesus Christ to Peter, in which reference was made to the power of the Keys, as license for all sorts of privileges and abuses, and he insists that the idea of "Plenitudo potestatis" be denied to the Pope by official enactment of the people.

Ockham is not an anarchist: he accepts and postulates a real form of government in the Church as well as in the State. He accepts in principle almost all the aspects of its government as then constituted. Indeed his idea of the Church is quite incomplete without a Pope. It seems singular, in the case of both Ockham and Marsiglio, that although they

criticized the incumbents of the Papal office so severely, yet both were satisfied to accord to the Papacy a considerable amount of authority in the government of the Church, and to admit its so-called Apostolic origin. Ockham maintains that Jesus Christ had given to Peter a form of primacy among the Apostles, though in degree it was entirely "primus inter pares". But, having admitted the necessity for a Pope in his theory of Church Government, he immediately sets about to limit the extent of his activities. The Pope has no "plenitudo potestatis", no authority in temporalities, no right to punish offenders arbitrarily but must share his authority equally with a General Council. He cannot, in like manner, define doctrine and fix dogma without the consent and co-operation of the Council. He has no direct rights in parishes, bishoprics or nations, except through the channels of the organized clergy. He may not sell benefices. Finally, he must be subject to the Emperor as a citizen of the Empire even to the extent of submitting to trial by a secular court for offences against the State.(1).

It may be said indeed that this restricted Papacy has nothing in common with the Papal Empires that Hildebrand, Innocent III, and Boniface VIII erected, and the criticism would in a sense be fair. But, as a matter of fact, the things Ockham most desired in a Pope were the things they commonly disregarded, and the things he despised and excluded as unworthy, they magnified. Upon reflection and careful study of Ockham's writings the Pope of his form of government is no mean or despicable creature, but one who shall seek purely

1. Octo Questiones. Op. Cit. pp. 332,333, etc.

spiritual ends in a humble and Christ-like but noble manner. As Ockham says, "Christ constituted Peter head of the other Apostles and the Universal Church for governing the community of the faithful in good principles (bonos mores), and whatever the spiritual necessities of the faithful require to be done or omitted" (1).

The ordinary agents of government which Ockham recognizes according to his own qualifying restrictions are the following: The decretals, constitutions, and definitions of the Pope; the General Councils; the holy bishops, provincials general, and the synods (2). Dioceses and kingdoms must send representatives to General Councils, or else, by their absence, waive the right to participation and thus mark themselves as obstructionists of the Kingdom of Christ. Every parish or community in which it is possible to assemble the constituency easily in one place should send one or more delegates to the bishop's council or to the parliament of the king or prince - whoever is in the position of public responsibility requiring him to summon such a conference. This synod will in turn choose those to be sent to the General Council. A General Council ought to expel an heretical Pope from the Apostolic seat, as should also a newly and canonically elected anti-Pope. The diocesan bishop where an heretical Pope takes refuge has full authority over him and should arrest him and turn him over to the Civil authorities.(3).

It is seen that Ockham places the Pope and the General Council together as the chief governmental authorities of the

1. Dialogus Op. Cit. p. 786
2. Ibid. pp. 840 ff
3. Ibid. p. 603, etc.

Church. But it should be remembered, according to his theory, that under ordinary circumstances the General Council would have no occasion to interfere with the administrative duties of the Pope. Only in such cases as defining dogma or examining heretics in things pertaining to the faith, is a General Council to be summoned. Moreover, in cases of real necessity the Pope can intervene in affairs of the State, the Emperor can intervene in the Church, while the General Council may intervene in the affairs of both Church and State. The council may be summoned by the Pope, the Emperor, or by "delegates" of the Church. It will be seen that there is established an almost ideal balance of power between the heads of the Church, with the ultimate authority resting in the constituency.

On the other hand, the significance of Ockham's linking up the bishops with the Pope in the executive duties of the Church should not be overlooked: e.g. "Principatus est papalis et episcopalis"(1). The significant feature of such a statement is that while the bishops in diocesan matters should have exercised final authority, the Papacy had undermined their powers and rendered practically useless their synods and councils. Ockham and Marsilio both insist on diocesan rights, Marsiglio even more than Ockham, perhaps because the latter was in fact a monk, owing allegiance only and immediately to the Pope. It is not without significance that in most of the quarrels successfully terminated of princes with the Papacy that the bishops and local clergy were on the side of the prince. The success of Philippe le

1. Octo Questiones. Op. Cit. p. 348

Bel, and the Edwards of England was in no small degree due to the local clergy resenting the invasion of their historic and peculiar rights by Papal Rome. They consequently ignored the enforcing of the excommunication and the interdict, and thereby rendered impotent the wrath of the Pope. The Papacy, even within the Church, chose to ignore and trample upon the "rules of the game" and ultimately incurred the inevitable penalty of poor sportsmanship.

So much then for Ockham's idea of Church Government. He accepted the Pope as head of the Church, but placed over against him a General Council, and insisted upon the actual functioning of the various episcopal and administrative bodies which intervened between the individual layman and the Pope.

II. Church Discipline.

It is at once evident that when Ockham denied the Pope "Plenitudo potestatis" he thereby limited the disciplinary power of the Pope and removed the very cornerstone of Roman Catholic conformity. It is quite needless to recall here the abuses that came to be associated with an unlimited exercise of disciplinary power by the Papacy. Extending far beyond the basic purpose in its establishment - preserving the purity of the faith - excommunication had come to be applied according to the petulant and capricious will of a Pope, and to enforce silly and unworthy injunctions of Canon Law, and sometimes even to support or overthrow, as the case might be, purely secular institutions.

Ockham held that the duties of the clergy were primarily spiritual and that the Church must not infringe upon the rights of the secular authority (1). The keys of the Kingdom of Heaven had been bestowed upon Peter and the other disciples as well in order that they might preach the Gospel and baptize the repentant. Christ is the only head of the Church, and Peter is not set apart as the Prince of the Apostles. All received the Holy Spirit in the same manner at Pentecost. Paul, for instance, does not, according to Scriptural record, consider himself subject to Peter, nor does Peter preside at the first Church Council at Jerusalem. Peter was designated a foundation of the Church only "in a certain manner"(2), which leaves no question but that Christ is the real foundation.

The disciplinary authority of the Pope in spiritual things consists in the right to instruct and restrain men so far as is required by the common good. Peter received no power from Christ except for the good of those under him, that they might obtain the Kingdom of Heaven. There are no precepts of the Pope that carry any weight except those that pertain to aiding men in winning that kingdom. The Pope must exhort men to obedience and not force them by his authority. The chief duty of the clergy is to exercise its ~~priestly~~ function in matters of repentance. Imparting of grace upon forgiveness of sin, and forgiveness itself are matters for God

1. Dialogus. Op. Cit. p. 902

2. Ibid. pp. 846 ff.

alone, and the priest acts in a merely declarative sense (1). So absolution and excommunication are both only declarative. The Pope ceases to be a legislative authority in the Church and confines himself rather to administering its religious duties and forms of worship. Since he is fallible he cannot establish new articles of faith, neither can he, of his own will or by his own judgment, pronounce an opinion or person heretical. This matter must be decided by careful study of Holy Scripture as it relates to the matter under consideration and sheds light upon it. (2).

In temporal things the Pope may seek only that which will minister to the execution of his spiritual office - a right to sustenance only. This restriction invalidates the authority of Canon Law in civil affairs, and the jurisdiction of the Church in matters of State. The Pope himself must undergo trial in the secular courts for temporal crimes and may not refer his case to Church courts or laws (3). The lands of the Church are not exempt from taxation but must contribute to the financial needs of State. The Pope is a civil vassal (vasallus) of the Emperor, and as such owes him temporal allegiance. All gifts made to the Church may be examined by the Emperor, on the general authority in all these cases just enumerated of Christ's words, "Render unto Caesar the things which are Caesar's" (4).

Regarding the use made by the clergy of excommunication, both greater and lesser, there is considerable doubt

1.	Octo Questiones.	Op., Cit.	pp. 349 ff.
2.	Dialogus	"	p. 420
3.	Octo Questiones	"	pp. 332 ff.
4.	Ibid.	"	pp. 343 - 347

in the mind of Ockham, and Marsiglio as well, regarding the wisdom of permitting it to continue. Ockham is quite agreed that it is possible for anyone to lapse from the true faith, and he is very insistent that those chosen for positions of authority in the Church should realize the responsibility resting on them to preserve the purity of doctrine. And yet, evidences are at hand that popes, archbishops and others have failed in the administering of excommunication; in some cases because they have failed to perceive the error until grave harm has been done, and in others because they have relied upon human intelligence (*ratione*) rather than upon divine guidance (*auctoritate*). Ockham lays down certain conditions under which it might be permissible to pronounce the sentence of excommunication. Above all, the Pope must not rely upon his human reason and intelligence: the issues are too great to permit that. But he must have a special, miraculous attestation to guide him and confirm as truth what he does. Moses and Paul so attested their doctrine with miraculous witnesses. Moreover, in matters of faith, the mere fact that they are faith separates them from matters of sight and reason and logic, and therefore makes ordinary processes of thought valueless (1)

But the fact is also apparent that popes have exercised the power of excommunication and have declared others to be cut off from the fellowship of the faithful when they were themselves heretical. They have not distinguished

1. Dialogus Op. Cit. p. 432, the second page of this number. Goldast's pagination throughout the "Monarchia" is faulty.

between the heretical and the pertinacious, and have proved themselves unreliable judges. The fact that the Pope is, and has demonstrated himself to be, fallible has deprived him of the power of judging rightly.

But no one of less rank and dignity may venture to exercise the authority of the greater excommunication, and the matter resolves itself into submitting all errors that involve questions of doctrine to a General Council. True, the General Council is not infallible; but it is more likely to approximate that standard because of the diversity of its component parts than is the opinion of one man. Moreover, in the early history of the Church matters involving heresy ("hereses Arii, Macedonii, Nestorii, Eutychæ, Dioscori..") were referred to a General Council and were decided by all those assembled. It seems best therefore to refer the matter of casting out from the Church for heresy to such a council. An unjust excommunication can do no real spiritual harm, since God does not follow the Church in His judgments; but none the less it is embarrassing and unfair because of the consequent disgrace.(1).

The same principles apply in the case of the interdict, except that Ockham felt unjust use was made of the the advantage of invoking it by political rivals. A conflict between an Emperor and a Pope will almost inevitably result in the latter pronouncing the sentence of interdiction. Therefore almost every such conflict may well be considered a case in point. Ockham thus expresses his conviction:

1. Dialogus. Op. Cit. p. 429 etc.

(1). The Pope may depose an unjust emperor or other civil officer, for the sake of the people,

ā. In a case where the civil officer is manifestly incapable or unjust, then the Pope may assume the duty 'ad interim', just as one member of the body will assume the function of another which is lacking.-"he who is not able to walk on his feet tries to get along by his hands, and he who, having his hands cut off, is not able to cut his meat, tears it with his teeth"(1).

b. Samuel did not depose Saul but was a messenger of God to carry out His deposition. So the Pope, while he does not have authority over the Emperor, may in the case of misconduct on the part of the latter act as God's agent in the special circumstance to depose him.

c. Just as an ecclesiastical judge may intervene in the affairs of a secular judge who fails to do justly, so the Pope is able to intervene in the affairs of the State for the same reason.

(2). The Pope may release subjects from their oath of allegiance to a King if the latter is unjust and unworthy. His doing so in no way indicates that the Emperor is a vassal of the Pope, but only asserts that justice for the people must be realized.(2).

The above statements indicate the fairness and fearlessness of Ockham, for no other, not even Marsiglio, would acknowledge the right of the Pope to intervene in the State.

1. Octo Questiones. Op. Cit. p. 327
2. Dialogus " p. 890, etc.

SACRAMENTS

On first attempting to discover Ockham's views concerning the sacraments, and the eucharist in particular, it must be admitted that there is a feeling of amazement in the mind of the reader that one who gave the world the "Dialogus" or the "Opus Nonaginta Dierum" should have written such a tract as the "De Sacramento Altaris" seems on its face to be. It appears almost incredible, upon first reading it, that the points of view seemingly maintained in the "De Sacramento Altaris" and any other of his works the present writer has been able to consult could have been ~~an~~certained separately in one mind. So radically different have they seemed, in fact, that many writers have considered the "De Sacramento Altaris" as having been written in an extremely ironic vein, and they have thus interpreted Ockham's rather obvious professions of adherence to the dogma of the Roman Church as an example of his highly developed dialectic skill.

The writer feels, however, that such an hypothesis is not supported by similar expressions in his other writings, given quite evidently in unstudied simplicity of language, and in discussions of other matters more immediately important. He has, for example, no hesitancy in using the expression, "corpum (sic) Christi conficiendi" as expressing one of the chief duties of the clergy, in an argument he was advancing that God will not permit all the faithful to be corrupted, neither does he in any of the instances of its use attempt

any explanation or apology. The same practice may be observed in the case of baptism, where in numerous instances he quite evidently assumes that the sacrament confers a certain grace in the manner of a mechanical effect; and at least one instance is recalled of a like attitude towards extreme unction. All these expressions are very plainly not written in an ironic sense, nor are they intended as "color" or background for any dramatic setting; but in most cases they are remarks volunteered quite unnecessarily by way of explanation.

But how then shall one account for a work that is so seemingly in harmony with the principles of the Roman Church from the pen of one who vigorously opposed that Church in almost all other respects?

Two explanations may be offered. One, suggested by Seeberg, may best be stated in his own words: "It is remarkable that the same men who apply reason so sharply in criticism of the dogmas of the Church and subordinate them to the sole authority of the Scriptures, are yet always ready in any given instance to submit to the "Romish" doctrine. But we should not on this account wonder at their studied irony, nor doubt either their honesty or their courage. If I understand the matter rightly this wavering stands in intimate connection with the juristic conception of the Church. Just as in civil life the law of nature holds primacy and yet finds application only in a form adapted to the precepts of positive law, so it is also in the Church. Here the accepted dogma of the Roman Church is the positive law; the Scriptures and reason corres-

pond to the law of nature. The application of the latter criterion ^{allows} produces a radical criticism of dogma and the Church; but this criticism is shattered - very much as in the political world - upon actual concrete conditions, upon the positive, legal status of the Romish Church. Neither in church nor in state has the criticism based on the law of nature abolished the existing positive law, although logical consistence might require that it should do so" (1).

Without digressing from the plan of this thesis to argue the matter, this explanation seems insufficient. The comparison implied above does not obtain in the instances cited. Furthermore, the theory or law of nature - to use Seeberg's expression - of Ockham found sufficiently severe testing in other respects in which it did not break down. It is difficult to imagine how Ockham could have endured the discomforts and dangers of excommunication for twenty years, if his had been a theory without foundation in experience and fact. How the "juristic conception" of the Church could cause one so consistently conscientious as he to become so inconsistent as to openly attack and defy that body which secretly was revered without on his part being conscious of the inconsistency is not at all clear. However, we must not tarry on the point.

The alternative explanation, proposed in germinal form by Professor Lindsay and developed by the writer as seemed necessary, is that Ockham, in the forty-one capitula of the "De Sacramento Altaris", was not seeking to demonstrate his cleverness, neither was he submitting with whatever grace

10 Seeberg - Dogmengeschichte. Book 2, part 62, cap.3.

possible to the inevitable authority of Rome. But it seems, rather, that he was setting forth in exhaustive form a reasoned explanation of that which after all was for him an intuitive matter of faith. It is possible to admit that in the sacrament of the Lord's Supper Ockham found himself face to face not with the Roman Church but with that great and ultimate problem of life - the hope of the salvation of the soul. And in facing the issues of life, perhaps without definite assurance as to the application of the redemption obtained by Christ and the possibility of forgiveness, Ockham had, by cutting himself^{off} from the sacraments of the Church, to expose himself to the greatest fear that assailed the reformers, namely, that when one refused to accept the sacrament of the Lord's Supper at the hands of the Church one might thereby be cutting oneself off from Christ's atoning sacrifice. Therefore political reforms and proposals to modify Church Government and Discipline have always far outrun definite proposals for modification of current opinion regarding the sacraments. And, even in modern times, many who would otherwise have been veritable credal iconoclasts have been restrained, not by the authority of the Church, but by the instinctive fear that after all one might possibly be wrong and lose eternally.

After writing the above, the writer was delighted to come across the following statement in a footnote of Lord

Bryce's which seems to confirm the above opinion: "A reason why the assaults of Marsilius and Ockham, as indeed of earlier impugnors of the claims of the papacy, did not make a deeper impression may perhaps be found in the fact that there was

one doctrine, that relating to the eucharist, which they did not dispute. Sacerdotalism stood deep-rooted in sacramentalism, and it was the denial of the dogma of the Real Presence that in the sixteenth century undermined the foundations whereupon the power of the priesthood and Peter's see rested" (1).

I do not think Ockham consciously debated the matter of the validity of the mass, or of the authority or ability of a priest to "make the body of Christ". A repeated review of the "De Sacramento Altaris" compels the conviction that the processes of thought set forth there are not conscious attempts to justify the mass and transubstantiation, but are the inevitable results of such reasoning as one of Ockham's philosophical background and habits would produce if he attempted to explain the mystery of the sacrament. His nominalistic habit made him refer everything to the test of reason; and yet, he had a keen appreciation of the value of intuitive truth in religion. By attempting to combine reason and intuition we have the consequence of him on the one hand asserting his belief, and on the other attempting to justify it. That he asserts a complete acceptance of the Church's terminology is clear: " Hic est et mea fides quantum est catholica fides. Quicquid enim Romana ecclesia credit hoc solum & non aliud vel explicite vel implicite credo" (2). "me nihil assertur nisi quid romana tenet et docet ecclesia" (3).

1. Viscount Bryce - "The Holy Roman Empire". Footnote, p. 223.
2. "De Sacramento Altaris". Cap. I.
3. Ibid. Prologus.

It is true also that he realizes Scriptural authority is lacking for the position he is forced to occupy, and he has recourse to Church tradition - a most unusual thing for Ockham: "ideo ad istam veritatem probandum auctoritates sanctarum patrum adducam" (1). But nevertheless it seems to be the reasoning of a nominalist in the presence of an intuitive fact of faith.

To explain how two substances can occupy a given point in space at the same time, without interfering with each other, Ockham conceives that it is possible for a thing to be in a place "circumspective et diffinitive". He explains by saying that an object is in a place 'circumspective' when its part "est in parte loci et totum in toto loco". And it is present 'diffinitive' "quando totum est in toto loco, et non extra, et totum est in qualibet parte illius loci" (2). The soul exists in the body in the latter sense. Ockham uses three illustrations, afterwards adopted by Luther from him, of the principle he had in mind: An angel in any part of space, the simultaneous occupation of space by the closed doors and the body of Christ as it passed through them, and likewise the grave stone and the body of Christ. If I rightly understand him, Ockham asserts that Christ as a Spirit was able to be present in the sacrament everywhere, because he is present spiritually everywhere that he wills to be. This was indeed what Christ himself had taught the Samaritan woman, and had demonstrated it in his post-Resurrection experiences and his

1. Ibid Cap. III.

2. Having been unable to secure a copy of the "Sententiarum" I quote the Latin phrases from Prof. Lindsay

promise to be with the Church to the end of the ages.

But this was not at all what the Roman Church held, and therefore it seems clear that here Ockham's elaborate attempt to demonstrate an intuitive belief (the "De Sacramento Altaris" is a very pretentious essay) brought him far afield from the position he may have thought he was occupying. He quite clearly set out to defend transubstantiation and ended by seeking to explain the mystery away entirely and by laying the foundation of Luther's doctrine of Consubstantiation. The Roman Church held that Christ was present corporeally or quantitatively, and that therefore a miracle was performed whenever the priest pronounced the significant words of the ritual that indicated the effecting of the change.

Ockham's view, in its final analysis, is perhaps little different from that of Berengarius, who lived more than two centuries before him. But it is a marked advance upon the current opinion of the time, and Luther and his immediate predecessors made admirable use of it. Yet it must not be thought that Ockham is in accord with Luther. The former's manner of belief was still mediaeval, and he was only beginning to lay bare the principles of this most thorny question of the Reformation. It is remarkable how quickly the theory Ockham propounded became general, for by the time of Wyclif, a half-century later, there was little hesitancy or difficulty in defining the issues that here are but germinal and latent. Luther took over the 'diffinitive' idea entirely, and, like Ockham, ascribes the possibility of the sacramental change to one miracle of God, which itself cannot be explained. Of

course the intuitive element, which Ockham held in abeyance during the analysis by reason, asserts itself again, and man is once more thrown back upon his faith in the wise and inscrutable power of God.

Even a casual reading of the "De Sacramento Altaris" will not miss noting a sentence in the brief prologue which seems fraught with significance: " Unigenitus se quidem dei filius substantia [?] mortalitem assumpta ut nos a diabolica servitute..... ut autem tanti muneris in nobis jugi maneret memoria".. It is significant because Ockham does not develop the idea of the mass from the Church's point of view in the tract. It might be suggested that the absence of this current emphasis in discussions of the sort, and the insertion of an idea that sounds very much like a Calvinistic Confession of Faith, was but another indication that Ockham had, in his logical processes already broken irrevocably with the Church in the matter of the Lord's Supper also. This idea seems to be connected also with the distinctive thought of the 'ubiquity' of Christ by an act of His own will. It is clear that Ockham's emphasis upon Christ's presence in a 'diffinitive' sense robs the sacrament of any especially miraculous characteristics, and it may well be that this idea of 'ubiquity' compelled the sense of the sacrament as a memorial of Christ's death on the cross.

Concerning baptism Ockham , as has been indicated, says nothing that would indicate he held a view differing from the common conception of the time. It is plain, from his statements, that the administration of the sacrament marked the entrance of the believer into the body of the Church. It is further clear that its reception in some way removed the stigma of guilt of original sin, since it has been shown that the baptised children might preserve the true faith even though all adults had become corrupted. And it is evident from the arguments of the "De Jurisdictione Imperatoris .." (1) that the sacrament could be administered by the laity, and that it was "specialiter novi testamenti". The inference seems to be that there was a distinction marked, even in those days between the sacraments that were based upon the New Testament and those that were not.

Passing by the other four sacraments, since Ockham seems to have made no significant observations about them so far as I have read - and the writer regrets his inability to obtain access to a copy of Ockham's "Sententiarum", which contains his systematic theology - attention is finally directed to his idea of the sacrament of marriage.

The circumstances calling forth Ockham's pronouncements on this connection have been the basis of much severe criticism of him. Lewis of Brandenburg, the son of ^{Ockham's} ~~his~~ protector, the Emperor Lewis, desired to marry one, Margaret Maultasch, who was the wife of John of Luxemburgh. Ockham was

1. "De Jurisdictione Imperatoris in Causa Matrimonialibus", in Goldast's "Monarchia", Vol I, p. 23.

enlisted - perhaps conscripted - by the Emperor to justify the procedure in the eyes of Canon Law and the world in general regarding the divorce and other matters involved, and it must be admitted that he was not unmindful of the interests of his patron in the matter. In a very brief tract -for Ockham - of little more than two hundred lines, he sets forth the sovereignty of the Emperor in matters relating to his empire, even to authority over marriage and divorce.

To state the matter baldly, Ockham either betrayed the fact that he had no real regard for marriage as a sacrament, or else he was unscrupulous and servile enough to betray his moral promptings in the matter and to justify for money or its equivalent what he himself believed to be iniquitous and sacrilegious. These are hard alternatives; but friends and enemies in subsequent centuries have advocated one or the other view, each according to his instinctive feeling towards Ockham. The evidence is before anyone who desires to examine it. If, reading it, he believes marriage is indeed a sacrament, and that the laws governing its establishment and dissolution are solely canonical and religious, then he will naturally conclude that Ockham, himself a member of the religious body, was untrue to his conscience. If, on the other hand, a reader believes that Ockham, while regarding the marriage relation as worthy of earnest religious consideration, believed that the interests of the State were vitally concerned in such a relationship, and in this particular instance that the Church was deliberately working at cross-purposes to the State to effect the Emperor's undoing, then

his sympathies will instinctively lie with Ockham's statement in the present tract.

Regarding the actual circumstances of the acts and the characters of those involved it is impossible to pass any judgment. From the Pope to the contracting parties the entire group seems to have been, so far as moral standards of judgment are concerned, "tarred with the same stick". The fact is that Lewis annulled the previous marriage of Margaret Maultsach and removed the impediments on the side of his son, Lewis, so that the marriage was performed. However, even if he was quite within his rights in thus exercising his power, it is unfortunate that he should have used it thus first in a matter that concerned himself and his family so intimately.

Of course, as the word 'jurisdictione' in the title would indicate, the tract is concerned principally to assert the authority of the Emperor as against the temporal pretensions of the Pope. In a sense it is a matter of choice whether to consider it here or in connection with Ockham's conception of the relation of the Church and State. The former alternative is preferred here, but not without admitting the unusual pertinency of a few sentences to the political question at issue. For example: "The Christian religion should deprive no one of his legal rights" (1). "The matter of marriage pertains to emperors legally, even though they are infidels"(2) "God gave the Church power for building up, not for destroying"(3). "Their laws(the Popes') are to be observed by no

1. De Iurisdictione Imperatoris... Op. Cit. p.21
 2. Ibid. p. 22
 3. Ibid p. 22

one in instances where they serve not for the maintaining, but rather the hindering of the State (Reipublicae)"(1).

"Christ gave Peter and his successors the task of feeding His sheep, not the power of sacrificing them" (2). "Laws ought to be drawn up for the common good"(3).

But apparently Ockham considers marriage in some sense, though not the accepted one, a sacrament. He does not, as does Wyclif, define particularly his conception of what a sacrament is. "Some dare to assebt", he says, "who are enemies of the empire, that the matter of marriage pertains to the Church, and that in no case can it pertain to the Emperor, since a sacrament and spiritual matters should be administered by the Church alone to which it may be answered in the first place so far as a sacrament is concerned, that to assert that all sacraments in every case are administered only by clergy is to be considered an error; e.g. baptism, which is often administered by laity"(4).

He seems to rest his decision upon whether the matter in question most concerns the "spiritualia" or the "temporalia", and defines the former as containing "quaecunque ecclestica ornamenta et materiales ecclesiae". But marriage apparently does not belong in this former classification, but rather is one of the "temporalia" over which the Emperor has unquestioned authority. Clearly Ockham had considered marriage as important in its civil and contractual sense, as well as in its religious and sacramental sense, and in balancing one against the other has decided in favor of the "imperium" and liberty. Did he believe this because he wished to assist the

1, 2, 3. Ibid. p. 22

4. Ibid. p. 23

Emperor, or did he assist the Emperor because he believed this? Who knows?

So much briefly for Ockham's conception of the sacraments of the Church. Although he seems to profess conformity to the accepted position and attitude, yet in the case of the eucharist and of marriage he appears already to be at variance with that position. And he lays the foundation for such developments as were shortly to destroy further reasonable belief in the sacramental theory of the Roman Church.

THE RELATION OF CHURCH AND STATE

In the Foreword of this thesis it was stated that there was no intention or desire to extend the present discussion into the field of political theory, or to consider especially ideas of political liberty. The intention remains unchanged. Whatever is set down here in the above sense is introduced solely that by contrast Ockham's conception of the Church may be made clearer. And although by far the greater part of Ockham's writing is concerned with the relation of Church and State, yet the matter reviewed here will be rigorously limited.

In order rightly to understand Ockham's conception of the relationship existing between the Church and the State, it is necessary to observe the interdependence he conceives to exist between man's civil and religious duties. Beginning with the assertion that religion is higher than all other things, he conceives that man's first obligation is a spiritual one. Apparently Ockham felt not only the necessity of keeping a certain prestige for the Church in society, but also something at least of the responsibility that a later group of religious leaders felt, in much the same circumstances, when they stated that man's chief end was "to glorify God and enjoy Him forever". And therefore, with his mind seemingly on spiritual values (for Ockham was a monk, while Marsili^e~~us~~ was not) he lays thus deeply the foundations of religious citizenship.

It would seem that Ockham regarded the constituent

elements of the Church and State as identical in substance but different in form of expression. The same individuals under one form of government constituted the Church as under another form of organization made up the body of the State. The close relationship involved between the duties of this dual allegiance is similar to and illustrated by the action of a council or convocation that by vote suspends its legislative functions and constitutes itself a tribunal to pass judgment on matter concerning its administration. The membership remains unchanged so far as the individual identity is concerned, but the functions in each case is different. Such duality of function is familiar to everyone, and the idea appealed very strongly to Ockham as illustrating his thesis.

As a matter of fact, Ockham occupied a quite secure position in thus comparing the Church and State. He was concerned as a religious man with laying upon the hearts of men not alone their duties but also their privileges. He was desirous further of asserting the rights of the State. There was probably no better method to approach his problem, either philosophically or psychologically, than to assert that the Church and State were, after all, one in their obligation to serve society and one in the membership that constituted them.

Shrewdly, however, and yet naturally, Ockham proceeds to point out that these organizations must not trespass upon the rights of each other. The citizenry, constituted as a State, are known as the "Romani" or the "secularis potestas"; constituted as a Church they are the "catholici", "congregatio fidelium", or "ecclesia". Each of these organizations must

choose its own officers and leaders, and maintain its own principles. The Church must be free from restrictions on the part of the State, except in extreme cases of mismanagement; the latter may not intervene so long as the officers of the Church faithfully discharge their obligation to the people, maintain their spiritual integrity, and refrain from infringing upon the rights of the State. In case violations occur in any of these respects, it becomes the duty of the civil organization to intervene and establish justice. The Church must have the right to conduct its elections according to law, without hindrance either by its own superior officers or by civil authorities. Those it chooses to be its leaders must be free from simony, heresy, and other such sins, and its officers ^{must refuse} temporal or civil jurisdiction and authority. Should any such violations occur, the Emperor or Prince is by oath to God and duty to his subjects bound to intervene, even to the extent of deposing a Pope, if necessary (1).

On the other hand, the State, composed of these same citizens as constitute the Church, is equally of divine origin, and has similar inalienable rights. The Church was constituted early in human history because man had fallen from a state of innocency in which he was created. In this original condition man lived under common law (*jus natural*).^e (2). He was in subjection to no man, and property was held in common (3). With man's fall (*lapsus*) these benefits

1. For paragraph: Dialogus, p. 893 ff.; Octo Questiones, pp. 331, 344, etc.
2. Dialogus, Op. Cit. p. 932.
3. Ibid. p. 893.

of innocency were lost, and a State and ruling power (dominium) became necessary (1). The State was forced to restrain the freedom of individuals for the benefit of society, and therefore it was necessary to enact civil laws and elect civil officers.

But Ockham, essentially a religious man, finds a moral application that is universal in this necessity of man for restrictions, and consequently he stresses this moral obligation as resting also upon officials chosen by the people. The Prince or State must deprive a citizen of no more personal freedom than is necessary for the good of society (2), nor must he be deprived of his life or the freedom of his actions so long as he is law-abiding.(3).

The seat of all authority and law is in society, for law touches the lives of all men, and therefore the enactment of law belongs to all mankind (4). All the rights a civil officer receives are bestowed by the people as a society, but they may, naturally, give only such rights as they themselves have (5). They may, however, delegate authority to act in behalf of themselves to a Prince (6). They may also refuse obedience to one so chosen who disregards the rights and wishes of his electors, and may, if necessary, depose him.(7).

A Prince must enforce the laws that are made by and for society, irrespective of who shall be affected by this enforcement, since the rights of the people must be preserved (8). He

1. Opus Non. Dierum. Op. Cit. p. 1144.	5. Dialogus. O.C. p. 923
2. Octo Questiones " p. 386	6. Ibid. p. 824
3. Dialogus " p. 932	7. Ibid. p. 878
4. Ibid. " p. 934	8. Octo Ques. " p. 341
	p. 351

is required to punish all offenders, and must protect infidels who are his subjects as any others. Bekham arrives at this last conclusion by a bit of reasoning which may well be given here to illustrate his usual procedure: the instance is fully typical: - Innocent has said that outside the Church no power or jurisdiction has been ordained by God, and that at best such power given is not granted but only permitted. Yet before the coming of Christ, and afterwards among infidels, there was true dominion in temporal things. God gives such dominion for true dominion is not only permitted (as Innocent would say) but granted by Him who alone is able to grant true and legitimate authority. The Lord gave to the children of Esau, Moab, and Ammon, who were unbelievers, lands and domains which the believers were not permitted to wrest from them. Therefore these, although they were infidels, had true and legitimate dominion in temporal things. Further, the Lord commanded Elijah to anoint Hazael to be King of Syria, who was an infidel. Therefore Hazael had proper authority. Christ himself willed and commanded the believers to pay tribute to Caesar. Therefore that Caesar, Tiberius, who continued as an unbeliever, had true authority. Moreover, the apostle, not on account of avoiding risk by refusing, but rather for conscience's sake should be subject to unbelievers in temporal things. He cites various passages from Paul, refers to Old Testament practices, to Augustine's "De Civitate Dei", and concludes by logically proving that Innocent was in error, and that an obligation rests upon Christians, not alone for their own body but for those who live as "infideles".(1)

1. Octo Questiones. Op. Cit. pp. 324-325.

Over one-hundred lines ~~are~~ required by Ockham for the above demonstration. Much of it seems repetitious and tortuously exacting in logic; but one who attempts to read his work sympathetically will be forced to admit that he usually arrives quite convincingly at the goal to which his dialectic was leading. Faults are almost never in his logical processes but in the validity of his premises.

One other aspect of Ockham's conception of the relation of Church and State organically should be mentioned: In spite of the fact that he was engaged in defending the Emperor Lewis, yet Ockham was not nearly so enthusiastically in favor of the empire as one might have expected him to be. While he knew by experience no other form of government than a monarchy, it is evident that such books as Plato's "Republic" must have left their impress upon his thinking in sufficient degree to cause him to favor a monarchy in which the powers of the Prince were well defined. He asserts consistently that the same principles obtain for the Prince as for the Pope: therefore what is cited now applies equally to both: - It is permitted to no one to divide the Church; but this does not mean that a plurality of Popes would mean a division of the Church, for the Church is not divided when the apostolic seat is vacant. So the unity of the Church does not depend on the permanence of the Pope. There is greater danger to Christendom in having one head than in having many, for if that one becomes corrupted almost all will become infected. The Disciple, in the "Dialogus", catches up the word "almost", and asks why the Master uses that qualification. The latter replies that it is

because of the promise of Christ, when He says, "I am with you always even to the end of the ages". " Because of this no one is fearful that ever because of unworthiness of a head of the Church there will come a general corruption of all Christendom (1).⁺ How firm a faith this man had!

One would indeed like to know how much of this spirit of Liberty and this independence of thought Ockham brought with him from his English ancestry and environment. Born, as he was, in the reign of the great Edward I; thrilled, as he must have been, by the events of Runnymede, Lewes, Evesham, and Carlisle, there can be little doubt but that he was influenced by the stirring events in his own country. He had seen Peckham and Winchelsea contend in behalf of the Pope and go down to defeat before Edward. He had seen the great Boniface VIII checkmated by the same Edward in 1297, when the latter confiscated the property of clerics who attempted to carry out Boniface's commands. And he had doubtless heard of Edward's apt retort to Winchelsea's statement "Jerusalem would not fail to protect her citizens", when the King said that neither Mount Zion nor Jerusalem could prevent him from maintaining what all the world knew to be his right. In view of these things, one can understand much of the frank equality in composition and purpose that he ascribes to the Church and State alike.

GENERAL ESTIMATE OF OCKHAM

The statement has frequently been made that Ockham and his great contemporary, Marsiglio of Padua, made their contribution to the cause of religious and civil liberty in some such fashion as this: Ockham, an ecclesiastic, having fallen under the displeasure of the Papacy, developed his theories as a defense which took the form of a counter-attack, and that he was therefore an opportunist in his teachings. On the other hand, Marsiglio, a philosopher, having perceived the weakness of the mediaeval Church and State, developed his theories in a detached fashion. Therefore though the influence of the latter was for a long time unmarked in religion and politics, yet his principles are true for any age, and require scarcely any adaptation to fit present needs. Mr. R. L. Poole has made an interesting comparison of the work of the two men, in which he summarizes their achievements as follows: "Ockham has traveled by a different road to the same point as Marsiglio. Neither is really in love with the imperial idea; all that is of importance to them is to erect the State into an organic, consolidated force independent of, and in its own province superior to, that of the spirituality" (1). This statement seems fair to both writers.

The present writer confesses to a great admiration of some years standing for the effective and timely work Marsiglio did. He feels constrained, however, to urge the termina-

1. "Illustrations of the History of Mediaeval Thought", p. 275 ff

tion of the unfair and unnecessary contrasting of Ockham and Marsiglio. Neither was ".... the first that ever burst

Into that silent sea"

of politico-ecclesiastical reform, nor will it profit scholarship and politics to indulge in fruitless conjecture about things capable of demonstration only by earnest research. It seems quite likely that Ockham did become concerned in the theory and doctrine of the Church, as stated above, because he found himself forced to defend his position and beliefs against the encroachments of the Church. His union with Lewis of Bavaria was certainly one of self-defense. But to have remained passive would have been to place himself entirely in the hands of Pope John XXII. Ockham knew that the best defence is an attack, especially when vulnerable points in the enemy invite it.

The stock Papal defence against attacks of "heretics and reformers" - that an individual, meriting censure for some relatively trivial matter, began to rebel against the discipline of the Church, then against its authority, and finally ended in heresy - would certainly apply in the case of Ockham, if there were any validity or point to it in any case. Just as Luther at a later date was led by the abuse of indulgences to review the entire position of the Church, so Ockham, through the abuse of luxury, simony, and ecclesiastical wealth, was led to attack the attitude of the Church in many of its most important positions. We are not, however, to attach any logical or moral importance to the criticism just stated, because critics of the mediaeval Church, or any other organization

for that matter, do not depend for justification of their criticisms upon any particular method of undertaking it, but rather upon whether the conditions they attack merit such treatment and the charges they bring are true and pertinent.

Approaching Ockham's work then with the idea of the constantly developing scope of his task in mind, the writer believes some such progressive modification in the expression of his views as the following would be a fair summary, based on the chronological production of his writings and the significant incidents of his life:

1. He insisted upon poverty as a qualification of all the clergy. Quite clearly this is the starting point of Ockham's break with the Papacy. It began in
 - a. his own ascetic belief as a "spiritual" Franciscan,
 - b. his dislike for John XXII who defended luxury,
 - c. his personal dissatisfaction with the prevailing unspirituality of the Church. The position thus taken forced him to review the entire position of the Church.
2. He rejected the authority of the Canon Law and the Church tradition. This step resulted from the willing use the Pope made of these sources of authority in his condemnation of the "Spirituals", and in his excommunication of Ockham and his companions. This step in turn resulted in offending the Pope still more deeply, and in inciting him to further reprisals.
3. He called into question the infallibility of the Pope, and the qualifications for that office. To this step he was impelled by the heresy of John XXII and

some of his predecessors, and by general abuse of Papal authority. It resulted in his effort to find authority elsewhere.

4. He proposed a General Council, not as being infallible, but as representing what was probably the highest human authority in matters of faith. It speaks well for Ockham's common sense, as well as his logic, that he refused to lay a greater burden upon the council than it could bear.

5. He asserted the sole authority of the Scriptures as the infallible guide in matters of faith. At an early period in his work this idea appears, and is consistently given first place.

6. He contended that God would always preserve a faithful remnant, however corrupt the greater part of the Church might become. This attitude probably developed from his recognition of the fact that even with an infallible authority in Scripture there was no infallible interpreter of it, and his realization that a purely individual interpretation might possibly result in complete confusion. He did not logically settle the matter, but neither has anyone since done so logically. The so-called Christian Consciousness is but another and more modern way of expressing this same conviction that God will not forsake his people entirely to their own devices.

7. He defined the Church as regards its nature, discipline and government.

8. He defined the rights of the Church and State in their interaction, compared their origins, and commented upon their duties. This did much to assist in confuting the prevalent ideas of the time regarding the right of the Church in temporal matters, and is one of his contributions that has exerted great influence on succeeding centuries.

9. He made the welfare of the people the chief administrative interest of both Church and State, From different premises and by different methods of reasoning he arrives at practically the same position as Marsilio. The idea here expressed was quite new and revolutionary in religio-political theory.

10. He modified the Sacramental theory of the Church in respect to the eucharist and marriage. This would be probably the last aspect of the Church he would attack, since he scarcely seems to have realized the full significance of the Mass in the control of the priesthood. He is more concerned with the mystery of transubstantiation than with its political and disciplinary implications. But, strange to say, it was in this latter respect that he exerted his greatest influence upon Wyclif, Hus, Biel, Luther and others.

In the light of the modifications of the theory of the mediaeval Church as indicated in chapter I of this thesis, Ockham's contribution to the theory of the Church seems to have been:

A. Contributions Ockham made to re-establishing the customs of the Primitive Christian Church.

- I. He insisted upon the New Testament idea of poverty (restoration of clerical asceticism).
- II. He denied the pretensions of the Hierarchy by insisting on rights of the Episcopacy and the General Council
- III. He demanded that the Church, ^{Surrender} its secular aspirations and confine itself to purely spiritual matters.
- IV. (He seems to have made no contribution in the matter of increasing Ritualism)

B. Contributions of Ockham which were comparatively new and constructive in preparing the way for the Reformation

- I. The Scriptures are the sole infallible authority in matters of faith.
- II. The spiritual welfare of all the people is the goal of all political and ecclesiastical government.
- III. The Pope and Emperor may intervene in each other's realms to assure realization by the people of the highest good.
- IV. The idea of Consubstantiation was substituted for that of Transubstantiation.

IV

JOHN WYCLIF

BIBLIOGRAPHY

In view of the thoroughness with which Wyclif's writings have already been examined in cataloguing them, the writer feels unjustified in undertaking such a task here. Instead, the student desiring information concerning the actual manuscripts and their criticism is referred to the following catalogues:

1. That by John Bale, Bishop of Ossary, in his edition, "Illustrium Majoris Britanniae Scriptorum Summarium in Quasdam Centurias Divisum". 1557.

2. That by John Lewis, in his, "The History of the Life and Sufferings of the Reverend John Wicliffe". 1720.

3. Another by H. H. Barber, prefixed to his reprint of Wyclif's or Purvey's "Translation of the New Testament". 1810.

4. Dr. R. Vaughan, in the first edition of "The Life and Opinions of John de Wiclif", and in his "John de Wiclif, a Monograph" gave a revised and commendable arrangement of the writings. 1853.

5. Dr. W. W. Shirley published at Oxford, "A Catalogue of the Original Works of John Wyclif". This was the best thus far offered to the public. 1865.

6. Thomas Arnold, in Volume three of his "Select English Works of Wyclif", further revised and added to Shirley's work.

7. Professor Gotthard Lechler, in Appendix VII of his German work, "John Wycliffe and his English Presursors"

gave a very concise and intelligent arrangement of the works, with charts. 1878.

8. Finally, Principal H. B. Workman, in appendices C and D of his monumental work in two volumes, "John Wyclif: A Study of the English Medieval Church", gives the fruits of the most recent scholarship with regard to the cataloguing of Wyclif's works.

Likewise, the writer does not venture to propose a complete Bibliography of writings about Wyclif, in view of the eight closely printed pages of bibliographical material concerning not only Wyclif but almost every conceivable thing related in any way to him, which Principal Workman has included in his recent work referred to above. Instead, the present writer includes only the more important works consulted in preparing the following sections on Wyclif.

Arnold, T. "The Select English Works of Wyclif". 3 v.

Brown, E. "Fasciculus rerum expetendarum et fugiendarum"

Catholic Encyclopedia. Article sub voce.

Dictionary of National Biography. Art. by Dr. Hastings Rashdall, (#. v.)

Encyclopædia Britannica. Art. by Dr. R. L. Poole. (#.v.)

Fox, J. "Acts and Monuments"

Gasquet, Card. "The Eve of the Reformation in England".

Gairdner, J. "Lollardy and the Reformation in England"

Hearnshaw, F.J.C. "Social and Political Ideas of the Middle Ages". Chap. VIII.

- Lechler, G. "John Wycliffe and his English Precursors".
- Lewis, J. "The History of the Life and Sufferings of the Reverend John Wicliffe".
- Loserth, J. "Wiclif and Hus".
- Manning, B. L. "The Peoples' Faith in the time of Wyclif".
- Matthew, F. D. "The English Works of Wyclif".
- Owst, G. R. "Mediaeval Preaching in England"
- McGiffert, A. C. "Protestant Thought before Kant".
- Poole, R. L. "Wyclif and Movements for Reform"
- Sargeant, L. "John Wyclif".
- Realencyklopädie Art. by J. Loserth. (s.v.)
- Shirley, W.W. "Fasciculi Zizaniorum"
- "Catalogue of the Original Works of John Wyclif".
- Trevelyan, G. M. "England in the Age of Wyclif".
- Typical English Churchmen. "John Wyclif" by J.N. Figgis.
- Vaughan, R. "John de Wycliffe. A Monograph".
- Workman, H. B. "The Dawn of the Reformation"
- "The Age of Hus".
- "The Foundation of Modern Religion"
- "Christian Thought to the Reformation".
- "John Wyclif: A Study of the English Medieval Church". 2 v.

Wickliefas Wichit

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Wycliffe Society Publications:

Dialogus	De Ecclesiis
Polemical Works	De Officio Regis
Sermones	De Dominio Divino
De Apostasia	De Civili Dominio
De Eucharistia	
De Benedicta Incarnacione	
De Blasphemia	

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

For the purposes of the present brief outline it has been found advisable to divide the life of Wyclif arbitrarily into five periods: from his birth to the diplomatic mission to Bruges, in July, 1374; from Bruges to the Great Schism, September, 1378; from the Great Schism to the Council of Twelve at Oxford, in 1380; from the Council of Twelve to the Blackfriars Synod, May, 1382; and from the Blackfriars Synod to his death in 1384. The reasons for such divisions will, it is hoped, become apparent. In preparing this section the following accounts of his life were compared:

Lewis: "The History of the Life and Sufferings of the Reverend John Wicliffe".

Lechler: "John Wycliffe and his English Precursors".

Matthew: "The English Works of Wyclif hitherto Unprinted".

Hearnshaw: "Social and Political Ideas of the Middle Ages".

Workman: "John Wyclif: A Study of the English Medieval Church".

Rashdall: Article in the Dictionary of National Biography.

Poole: Article in the Encyclopedia Britannica.

These seem to represent fairly well the various views about Wyclif's life and time, and the writer will not indicate page references from them.

I. The year and place of Wyclif's birth cannot be fixed. Lewis "guessed" at the date as 1324, and this has

been generally accepted. However, his conjecture rested upon a statement made by Wyclif himself, in 1383, that he was "in fine dierum nostrorum", and it was assumed by Lewis that this meant he was sixty years of age. Obviously it might mean fifty-five or eighty or any other age thereabouts so far as definite dating is concerned. There is, however, confirmatory evidence that fixes the date as somewhere near that time. The record of the marriage of his parents is extant, giving that date as 1319. Furthermore Wyclif's opponent Cunningham, who seems to have been his senior in years, was still alive and active in 1398. Dr. Lechler, because of remarks Wyclif drops concerning himself, and further because of the fact that one fifty-eight years of age would not probably suffer from paralysis, felt the date of his birth should be "several years earlier". Mr. Matthew and Professor Hearnshaw prefer a date about ³1320. Obviously it cannot be earlier than this because of the date of the parents' marriage. Principal Workman, on the other hand, places the probable date about 1328, justifying the assumption by the probable ages at which men received academic degrees, and other incidents that are significant to him in the record. It is well perhaps to accept a date about 1324 which seems a mean between the opposing extremes.

The Wyclif family home was Wyclif Manor, near Richmond, in the North Riding of Yorkshire. Wyclif inherited as patron on the death of his father in 1353, and in 1363 presented Wylliam de Wycliffe to the living. The estate probably did not exceed seven hundred acres. In 1342 John of Gaunt became overlord of the district, which fact was not without significance

in Wyclif's later fortunes. The actual place of birth seems to have been either Wycliffe-on-Tees or Hipswell, and evidence seems to point to the former, at present the village of Wycliffe.

The next date that may be accepted is the death of his father in 1353, and Wyclif's assumption of the control of the manor and patronage of the living. The next certain date is 1360, when it is stated that he is Master of Balliol College, Oxford. The years intervening since his birth may be known with a fair degree of accuracy through evidence from contemporary records as to the terms of study necessary for obtaining the necessary academic qualifications for such a position. It should be remembered that these years saw the beginning of the disastrous Hundred Years' War (1337); the coming of that horrible scourge, the Black Death (1349 and again in 1361); and the riots at Oxford between "town" and "gown" in 1353.

By a most singular coincidence there seems to have been about the middle of the fourteenth century three students at Oxford bearing the name "John Wyclif". It is by no means certain that even yet the threads of their history have been ^{disen}untangled by even such painstaking efforts as those of Principal Workman. There is, for instance, very sincere difference of opinion between Dr. Rashdall and Principal Workman regarding identifying the "John Wyclif" who was Warden of Canterbury Hall with the reformer. The writer feels that the evidence seems to favor Dr. Rashdall's contention that the incumbent of Canterbury Hall was John Wycliffe of Merton College, who died the year before the reformer in the parish

of Horsted Keynes.

Again, some evidence seems to indicate that Wyclif was appointed by the Pope prebend in the collegiate church of Westbury-on-Trym, near Bristol. The living was not large, but he had already been inducted to the living of Fillingham, May 14, 1361, and the implication is that he was guilty of accepting a plurality. According to the custom of the time one could do this without blame. But Wyclif opposed such practices so consistently in later years that it seems scarcely possible he would have spoken in quite the manner he did if the charge might also have been imputed to himself. In fairness it should be admitted that one may change his own manner of living and criticize his former practices; but the instance seems especially unfortunate, inasmuch as the individual in question, "Master John Wynkele" gave no attention to the duties of the church to such a notorious degree that charges were preferred against him in ecclesiastical procedure. Such action seems entirely inconsistent with the character of the reformer as it is elsewhere given, and it may be that further investigation will furnish an explanation of the seeming incongruity.

In 1363 Wyclif obtained leave of absence from his parish of Fillingham for a period of five years to pursue further studies at Oxford. It seems in this case that he lived in Queen's College, in rooms he fitted and made comfortable for himself. In 1368, when the period had elapsed, he was granted an extension of two years, and in this same year he obtained the living of Ludgershall, which was only sixteen miles from Oxford. The convenience in this respect seems to

have compensated him for a reduction in stipend from thirty to ten marks.

In 1369 Wyclif obtained the degree, Bachelor of Divinity, and thereupon was eligible to lecture on the "Sentences", which lectures he began in 1370. He obtained the Doctorate in 1372, and seems to have entered political affairs about the same time, as Cunningham, in an attack launched before he obtained the degree, charges Wyclif with having become one of the house of Herod (The Duke of Lancaster).

Thus far, if we read correctly, Wyclif had written but one important work, "De Benedicta Incarnacione", and had carefully avoided any break with the Church, although, according to some writers, he was sorely tempted and provoked by an unknown friar who sought to entrap him. By the close of the present period (1374), Wyclif had become probably the most scholarly man of his time, and one unequalled in a knowledge of Philosophy, Metaphysics, and Theology, and in the intricacies of Scholasticism.

II. In this period we find Wyclif entering upon his political experiences. He was appointed by the King a member of a commission to confer at Bruges with representatives of the Pope, to discover whether some agreement could be reached between the king and the Papacy regarding the matter of tribute to Rome, and the exercise of authority within the kingdom of England. At the same time a diplomatic commission met representatives of France at Bruges to seek an adjustment of political differences. The leader of this commission was John

of Gaunt, the Duke of Lancaster. It seems neither commission was very successful. John of Gaunt was forced to make humiliating terms, which the Londoners would not accept; and the Bishop of Bangor, leader of Wyclif's group, seems to have obtained little else than an advancement for himself from the Pope. However, Wyclif had come to the attention of the State, as was evident in the events of the next few years. He had also seen the workings of the Hierarchy at first hand, and seems to have returned to Britain a disillusionized man. He issued, in 1374, a work entitled, "Determinatio quaedam Magistri Johannis Wyclif de dominio contra unam monachum", in which he represents himself as "reporting" seven speeches delivered in parliamentary debate by seven lords. It is a question, however, whether the work is not entirely Wyclif's own creation, the particular literary form having been assumed to protect himself from Papal disfavor. The book seems not to have brought down upon him immediate retribution. But he followed it by two others, "De Dominio Divino", and "De Civili Dominio", in which he denied the Papal suzerainty in England, and asserted that the Pope was rather a tenant of the king in England, and that he was guilty of simony in exacting tribute from King John. Further, he asserted that the judgments of the Pope were not to be feared.

Wyclif was summoned in 1377 to St. Paul's for trial by Courtenay, Bishop of London; but, due to the presence of John of Gaunt and the Earl Marshall with a company of armed men to protect him, the court pronounced no judgment and Wyclif returned to Oxford, where he had become a public idol. The

matter was not allowed to rest there, however, for Pope Gregory XI issued five bulls against him, to the bishops of Canterbury and London, to the king, and to the University of Oxford. The bulls were accompanied by nineteen articles of teaching, gathered from Wyclif's previous writings, which were declared worthy of condemnation. It was a bold attempt to introduce the Continental Inquisition into England. The death of the king at almost the same time further complicated matters. Wyclif appealed to Parliament, setting forth his views, and Parliament supported him, and welcomed his assistance. However, as soon as Parliament had finished its session, Wyclif was summoned to Lambeth. But the court was again prevented from acting by the presence of a great multitude of the people of London, and by an order from the mother of the boy king forbidding them to condemn Wyclif.

Wyclif was now thoroughly aroused. He had laid deeply and well the foundations of the civil rights, and had afforded the Nationalist party in Parliament sound, intelligent grounds for maintaining their historic independence from Rome. The people were evidently of like mind, and the University still supported him most loyally. Just at this time, when the local representatives of Rome were most uncertain as to the course of action to pursue, Gregory XI died, and the Papacy was plunged into an orgy of recrimination and vituperation by the two contenders, Urban VI and Clement VII, such as probably has been unequalled in religious literature.

III. The revelations regarding the policy and nature of

the Papacy made by the rival aspirants seem to have been the final evidence needed to cause Wyclif to break absolutely and finally with Rome. Soon thereafter he appeared before Parliament in its meeting at Gloucester and defended the violation of sanctuary privilege of Westminster by soldiers of the State. Shortly after this he published his "De Ecclesia", in which he included his defense of the Parliament; he also attacked the Roman Church at its very root in this work. He also published the "De Officio Regis", "De Potestate Papa", "De Ordine Christiano". From these there can be no doubt but that Wyclif had fully and deliberately severed all connection with Rome, and that it was his desire to prevent the Nation from submitting to that Church. In 1379 he began a controversy with the friars concerning the Eucharist, which led him to break with Rome sacramentally and metaphysically, as it were. His work, "De Apostasia", and "De Eucharista" indicate the length to which he had gone in that direction. Moreover, he began lecturing in Oxford on these matters, setting forth his views in unqualified form. He also began the translation of the Bible, with the aid of his followers.

His denial of the commonly accepted doctrine of the Eucharist divided Oxford into two groups. The monks and friars formed one body, whose hatred Wyclif had already won, not alone by calling attention to the abuses of their ministry, but also by accusing them of heresy in their "accident" theory of the elements in the Eucharist. The secular clergy seem to have supported Wyclif. The Chancellor of the University was William de Berton, a former antagonist of Wyclif. He, in 1380, summon-

ed a council of twelve representatives from the university to consider Wyclif's heretical teachings regarding the Eucharist.

IV. The council at Oxford, selected by de Berton, was, as might be expected, hostile to Wyclif, since the chancellor selecting it was hostile. Even so Wyclif declared that he was defeated by seven votes, which shows how strong his influence was even then in Oxford. The self-appointed Inquisition naturally selected as one of the propositions to be condemned the statement that Christ was present in the sacrament only in a figurative sense. This, with another, formed sufficient grounds for them to forbid him to teach, hold, or defend the views in the schools or outside, under pain of suspension, imprisonment, and excommunication. Having reached this decision, they entered a classroom in which Wyclif was lecturing and read their findings before the class, to Wyclif's great embarrassment. He would not, however, modify his views.

Instead of appealing to the courts of the university, which might possibly have favored him, Wyclif appealed directly to the king, which act brought the matter of deciding the technical theological and metaphysical questions involved into a purely civil court. John of Gaunt at once came to Oxford to dissuade Wyclif from his course, and to urge him to be silent in view of recent revivals of Papal influence at Court. The king was engaged in foreign wars demanding great financial support and sorely needed aid of the Church. Therefore no answer to Wyclif's appeal was forthcoming.

But a more unfortunate circumstance for Wyclif was the fact that John of Gaunt, angered by Wyclif's refusal to accede to his request, withdrew his support from him, and left him to fight the battle alone thereafter. For this reason the council at Oxford seems to me especially significant in Wyclif's life. Wyclif shortly afterwards withdrew from Oxford to Lutterworth, whither he had removed from Fillingham in 1374.

Most unfortunately of all for Wyclif, the Peasant's Revolt broke out in May of 1381. It has never been shown with even a degree of probability that Wyclif was in any sense to blame for the uprising. Students of the life of the people and their burdens at the time are aware that no theological incentive was necessary to urge them to insurrection. But, as in the case of the Lollards at a later date, unrest and irregularities were attributed to him, and enemies and politicians eager to placate the anger of a reviving Papacy were delighted to find one upon whom the responsibility could be placed. Hence in spite of Wyclif's appeal to Parliament in May 1382, and his publication of his "Complaint" addressed to that body, setting forth the deep significance of the issues involved, there was no response from Parliament, and within a fortnight the Synod of Blackfriars met.

V. Courtenay, but recently consecrated archbishop, initiated the final movement against Wyclif. Although the Parliament was still in session, he felt sure of his ground, and summoned a committee or synod to meet in the hall of the Blackfriars, in London. According to accounts the body seems

to have been made up of the following classes of clerics: nine bishops, sixteen doctors of theology, eleven doctors of law, seven bachelors of theology, and two bachelors of law. It was a deliberately "packed" jury; no hope was possible for a fair hearing of Wyclif's opinions. In addition, Wyclif himself was not summoned, so that there could be no defense. Twenty-four statements were gathered from his works and carefully discussed. On May 21, the synod was interrupted in its deliberations by a very severe earthquake. Some of the bishops desired the court to adjourn, but Courtenay held the body together and secured the condemnation of the twenty-four theses. It was significant that Wyclif's name appeared nowhere in connection with the action.

After allowing a week to elapse, during which time Courtenay attempted to secure the assistance of the secular authority, he published the decisions. Failing to secure the approval of them by the Commons before it adjourned, he obtained a decree from the king granting him power to arrest and imprison all Lollards. But Courtenay over-reached himself in his cunning and roused the suspicion of the Commons, which would not grant its support, and demanded that the action be rescinded in return for an appropriation of money to the king. The king agreed and signed the enactments; but Courtenay, by some as yet unexplained chicanery, was able to prevent the recording of the repeal on the rolls of the Statutes. He was therefore free to proceed with his inquisition, armed with the decision of the Synod of Blackfriars and the imperial decree. Copies of the condemned theses were at once sent out

to every parish, and Wyclif would receive one along with the other clergy.

Next the inquisition was begun in Oxford. Courtenay, by politic gifts to the king of one-tenth of the Church's income, and by a careful uniting of the bishops and friars, together with the secular authority, was able to bring the university to complete submission without resorting to excommunication, which would have been difficult since the university was directly under the authority of the Pope.

It is an indication of Wyclif's great popularity that while his followers were hunted down and imprisoned and forced to recant, that no effort was made to arrest him. Instead, he continued to oppose the Church with intense vigor. The "Triologus", produced during this period, is perhaps the most effective polemic he wrote. He continued to live at Lutterworth, from which place of safety he scathingly denounced the friars who were powerless to harm him. It is thought that they were responsible for the effort to have the Pope renew the citation of Wyclif to Rome; but in any case the action was not taken, and he expired in peace from the effects of a second paralytic stroke which he suffered while attending church service on December 31, 1384.

Wyclif died uncondemned for heresy, although he had been the leader of the opposition to the Church. However, the Council of Constance (1415) condemned 260 different parts of his writings and ordered them all to be burned, and his bones to be dug up and cast out of consecrated burying ground. So, in 1428, his bones were disinterred, burned to ashes, and

cast into the waters of the river Swift, in the words of Netter, "to the damnation and destruction of his memory. His vile corpse they consigned to hell, and the river abolished his ashes". Fuller's familiar words may be cited in closing the section as representing a more charitable and certainly a more historically true prophecy: " Thus this brook hath conveyed his ashes into Avon, Avon into Severn, Severn into the narrow seas, they into the main ocean. And thus the ashes of Wyclif are the emblems of his doctrine which is now dispersed all the world over".

THE NATURE OF THE CHURCH

The views of Wyclif concerning the nature of the Church are principally set forth in a work entitled, "Tractatus De Ecclesia", intended as a part of his "Summa". Internal evidence indicates that it was begun after the publication of the bulls against him by Pope Gregory XI and before the latter's death (1), and that it was completed shortly after that occasion and probably late in 1378 or early in 1379. Elsewhere also, in his Latin as well as English works, Wyclif reveals his ideas of the nature of the Church; but a very carefully planned and systematic statement of them is made in the "De Ecclesia". The plan and general content of the work cannot be discussed here, but attention must be given briefly to his conception of the nature of the Church.

His theory is a not uncommon one to us in a modern age, but it was unprecedented and revolutionary in his own day. The idea of the Church militant as the "Universitas Predestinatorum" or "elect", upon which he founded the conception, he received from Augustine, and he is frank in citing him as an authority. In the "De Ecclesia" reference is made to Augustine no less than 175 times. Yet Wyclif's idea is not entirely that of Augustine, for he proceeded upon somewhat different assumptions. The idea of predestination, which goes hand in hand

1. De Ecclesia. pp. 366, 326, 353, 546, etc.

2. Ibid. p. 358

with election he obtained from Richard de St. Victor (1), and from Bradwardine, confessor of Edward III and archbishop of Canterbury, for whom Wyclif had deep respect. Bradwardine was concerned with confuting the Pelagian tendencies then prevalent, and concerned himself primarily with philosophy. He maintained that salvation was obtained only by the grace of God, and through no effort of man; hence man's state must be predetermined (2). There were apparent gaps in Bradwardine's reasoning, and weaknesses springing from a confusion of philosophy, ethics, and metaphysics; so that the theory of Wyclif in regard to the Church may be regarded as the most effective attack upon this foundation of the mediaeval Church.

First, Wyclif considered the Church as primarily a spiritual body. Upon reading his Latin and English sermons, that idea seems to one to underlie all others. To be sure, ^{it} ~~the~~ is the body of the predestinated; but that body is mystical, and the relation is solely spiritual. And for this reason no one can with certainty designate a member of the true militant Church. The subdivisions of the militant Church which Wyclif makes depend upon this spiritual conception; so that while, as he maintains, the Church is divided in respect to its component parts, yet these diverse parts are by that mystical spiritual bond made one unit. He speaks, for instance, of the Church as the "mystical body" of Christ, and as His "Spouse" (3). Had

1. He quotes from Richard de St. Victor's "De Potestate Clavium" in which Richard says one may become a member of Christ by "Predestinacione, preparacione, concorporacione", and defines the first thus: "quando ad vitam divinitus preordinatur".

- De Eccl. p. 73

2. Bradwardine - "Causa Dei"

3. De Eccl. pp. 2, 88, 89, etc

Wyclif been able to detach himself sufficiently from medieval modes of thought to have seen the elements that had entered into the growth of the Roman Church, he might not have found it so difficult to account for the presence of the worldly and unspiritual part of that body.

Yet Wyclif sensed, in a measure, the fatal weakness of the hierarchical Church when he made the above spiritual distinction. He realized that the Church's policy had been determined by a worldly, pagan element in its organization, which had been admitted to membership in it that thereby it might become the temporal mistress of the world. In this way the Church's growth had not been checked by civil powers; but rather the support of civil executives had been obtained by placing them in important ecclesiastical positions, and by refraining from making the requirements of the Church life too exacting religiously and spiritually. So the Church became more concerned about the "two swords", papal revenues, investiture, and crusades to extend its control, than with spiritual instruction, social reform, alleviation of needless suffering, and the practice of Christ-like simplicity.

Among numerous other statements of the kind, Wyclif has left this, which is interesting because it purports to be an historic summary of the development of the Church! " Afþis that Crist was stied in to hevene, aboute ten daies, as he had ordeynid, he sente down the Holi Goost, and movede apostlis to do his dedes; and thei wenten and prechiden faste among Jewis and hethen men. But Jewis agenstonden hem faste, and hethene men taken him with wille, and resceyveden the Holi Goost, and

becamen Cristene men. And thus apostlis of Crist filliden bi Goddis grace this world. But longe aftir, as croniclis seien, the fend hadde envie herto, and bi Silvestre preest of Rome he brougte in a newe gile, anf moved the emperour of Rome to dowe this Chirche in this preest. For, as the fen taugte this king, this dede cam of greet almes: for thei thoughten not how the Chirche shulde sue Crist in his lawe. But trewe men supposen here that bothe this emperour and this preest weren moved of God bi tymes to trowe that thei synned in this dede. But bisie we us not where thei ben seintis, and how thei were thus moved of God; for al this is bynethe bileve, and men mai trowe it yif thei wolen

Whan this lif was thus changid the name of this preest was changid: he was not clepid Cristis apostle, ne disciple of Crist. But he was clepid the pope, and heed of all hooli Chirche ..." (1). I have ventured to quote at length to indicate how fitting it was that Wyclif should insist on the Church as a spiritual body, a spibitual brotherhood, and the spiritual communion of the elect.

With this spiritual premise in mind, we may go further into his idea of the Church. He was perplexed by the presence in its organization of members who were inconsistent in their manner of living, and who were guilty of disgracing the body of believers. Not even popes and bishops were exempt, and he saw that in order to have a pure Church there must be some mark of distinction which would separate such and exclude them from the Church from its very historic beginning. So he reasoned and proved from Scripture that the Church was not composed

1. Arnold, S. E. W. III. pp. 340-341.

of those who had been baptized, or who had received other sacraments and were in good standing in the visible organization; but that it was composed of those whom God had elected from all eternity to be His own. Wyclif thus removed the qualifying for membership in the Church from the sphere of man's control to that of God's will and His election, and he affords little, if any, relief from his rigid predestinarianism. The following are evident attempts to relieve the strict application of the doctrine: No man, without a special revelation, knows himself to be elect (1). " We may not wite for certyn which persone is of Cristis spouse of alle the men that wandern here, but we may gesse, and that is ynow. As we gessen that this man that holdith wel Cristis lawe is a leme of hooly Chirche so we gessen of an-other man that reversith Cristis lawe that he is a leme of the fend and no part of hooly Chirche" (2). " If the pope asked me whether I were ordeyned to be saved or predesrynate, I wolde say that I hoped so" (3).

Apparently Wyclif was well aware of some of the dangers inherent in his doctrine, in its tendency to exclude the element of individual responsibility, to discourage men from striving since they might be "forekmown" and not "predestineted", and to bring general confusion to the Church, since he guards the doctrine in many ways and sometimes ~~and sometimes~~ stated a belief that seems to contradict his general thesis: " We shulden rest in this hope that we shal come to hevene, and leve veyne comparisouns bytwene us and others" (4). "Ech man

1. De Ecclesia p. 5.

2. Matthews. Engl. Works. p. 422.

3. Arnold. S.E.W.III p. 426

4. Arn. S.E.W. I. P. 42

that shal be dampned is dampned by his owne gilt, and ech man that shal be saved is saved bi his owne merit"(1). It may be impossible to harmonize logically this last sentence with a rigid doctrine of election; but Wyclif evidently felt that the truth lay none the less clearly in the paradoxical assertion of God's election and man's choice. He was quite satisfied that God's wisdom in so ordering man's life was unquestionable: "He (God) wole for greet cause that we witen not where we ben of the Chirche"(2). "This triacle (remedy) hath God ordeyned agens preestis and ypocritis, that thei shulden not disceyve the puple, bostynge that thei ben of holi Chirche"(3). And finally, "Thou maist not see this point of thi bileve, which men ben lymes of holi Chirche, but thou shalt trowe the general. And so that thing that thou trowist here, thou seest not with thi ixen, but thou trowist it above hope and bilevest it bineth science"(4).

The limitations of the present thesis will not permit a discussion of the full consequences of this doctrine. Wyclif faced with courage the alternatives the question has always imposed, and had no hesitancy in stating that God's mercy is not extended to the damned, and further that the pains of the damned are a source of help to the redeemed. Usually he states quite clearly that the arbitrary will of God determines the fate of men, quite apart from the acts of men themselves. To carry out the idea, Wyclif conceived of an Anti-Christ or "fend", which led the hosts of evil. Naturally such rigid insistence resulted in a form of Dualism which in the seven-

1. Arnold S.E.W. I. p. 350
 2. Ibid. III. p. 339.

3. Ibid. ~~XX~~ I. p. 166
 4. Ibid I. p. 168

teenth and eighteenth centuries gave rise to an impersonal and soulless Deism. But of this Wyclif, of course, could not be aware. He was compelled to assume his position because of the very apparent insufficiency of current conceptions of the nature of the Church. No definition that included within the true Church unscrupulous, lecherous, and heretical friars, clergy, and popes could by any means be a proper one. It was necessary to place the matter on other footing, which he did by rejecting the idea of the Church as the "congregatio fidelium", and considering it as the body of the "predestinati".

Over against the predestinated, Wyclif placed the "presciti" or "foreknown", which included all not belonging to the former body. None of these foreknown are contained in the true Church (1); they are limbs cut off from the body (2); the group includes infidels, heretical priests, and those not persevering, who are not believers according to the measure of Scripture (3); members of the foreknown may hold ecclesiastical office and yet remain without the kingdom of God (4); they cannot continue in grace, nor be saved by it (5), and so may be in the Church but not of it (6); they make up one body of which the Devil is the head (7); they have the stamp of ordination, but in a different manner from the elect: in the case of the foreknown it is the mark of the Beast (8); they may administer the sacraments to the benefit of the elect, but no advantage accrues to them from it; rather they are made worse (9)

1. De Ecclesia p. 3.
2. Ibid. p. 12.
3. Ibid. p. 63

4. Ibid. p. 72
5. Ibid. p. 75.
6. Ibid. p. 89.

7. Ibid. p. 102
8. Ibid. p. 445.
9. Ibid. p. 448.

The authority for such a division of the Church Wyclif found in the parallel between the first Adam, through whom man sinned, and the Second Adam, through whom men are made alive (1). The question has been asked whether he does not make the terms of inclusion in the Church - as distinguished from the world - so easy that those who are members of the visible Church are 'ipso facto' members of the invisible,, and so of the number of the saved. But it seems to me that he stressed this very point throughout all his writings, and that his statement that a bishop or even a pope who is immoral is no member of the true Church but a servant of antichrist and a member of the "synagogue of Satan" leaves no doubt as to his meaning.

Wyclif divided the Universal Church or body of the predestinated into three groups, depending upon their condition with reference to physical life. " The first part is in blis, with Crist, heed of the Chirche, and conteneth angels and bles-sid men that now ben in hevene. The secounde part of this Chirche ben seintis in purgatorie, and thes synnen not of the new, but purgen ther olde synnes ... the thridde part of the Chirche ben trewe men that here lyven, that schulden be aftir saved in hevene, and lyven here cristen mennis lyfe. The first part is clepid over-comynge; the middil is clepid sleping; the thridde is clepid fightynge Chirche"(2). Or again, he thus describes it: "We do not speak of the Church catholic except in terms of its three divisions: part triumphant in heaven, part sleeping in purgatory, and part waging war while on earth. And, as a symbol of this, the doctors say, the host or sacra-

1. Ibid. pp. 11, 60, 70, etc.

2. Arnold. S. E. W. III. p. 339

ment of the Eucharist is divided into three parts" (1). A few fine instances of the mediaeval tendency to symbolize are afforded in these observations of Wyclif: "In vain would it have been thus ordained or one have read thus, that Solomon had so many queens, so many concubines, and so many young maidens (adolescentulas), were it not intended to symbolize thereby..."(2). Or again, "Solomon's temple is a type of the Church. The first part, into which the crowd of people and also the Gentiles entered, where the priests at the time of Christ carried on their business; this signifies the Church militant. ... the second part was set apart for the Israelitish People as a body, signifying correctly the perfecting of the Jews by removing their imperfections in purgatory. The third part was the holy of holies, into which the priests entered in a solemn manner once in a year, and this signifies the Church triumphant"(3).

Concerning the Church Universal, Wyclif makes these interesting observations;

- a. "No vicar of Christ ought to presume to assert that he is the head of the holy catholic Church. Nay, except he shall have a special revelation, he ought not to assert that he is a member of it"(4).
- b. "The mother Church is only one and not many"(5).
- c. "Outside the holy catholic (invisible) Church, there is no remission of sins. She is the true body of Christ and his bride"(6).

1. De Ecclesia p. 8.
 2. Ibid p. 125.
 3. Ibid p. 125

4. Ibid. p. 5.
 5. Ibid p. 7.
 6. Ibid p. 11.

The militant Church, here in the world, Wyclif again divided into three groups: clergy, or "prechoures"; secular lords, or "diffendoures"; and toilers, or "laboures". "The first part of the Chirche shulde be next Crist, for it shulde be next heven and most ful of Charite.. the secounde part of the Church is calde "diffenderes", a lordes and knyghtes and other men of armis...etc"(1). In this respect Wyclif goes beyond Ockham, who tried to maintain the spheres of the Church and the secular body as independent but mutually helpful. Wyclif believed the nobility had a service to render to the Church particularly suited to their own abilities.

To attempt a full discussion of the conclusions that follow from Wyclif's new and revolutionary theory of the Church would involve not alone those pertinent to the immediate subject, but also others that made their influence felt in his conception of the authority, government and discipline, and sacramental theory of the Church. For the present we shall merely indicate a few of the more apparent principles evolved from the fundamental idea, and defer the discussion of those that are irrelevant until the proper place in this thesis. The idea of the Church, therefore, as composed of the predestinated, and the antithetical classification of the unpredestinated as a definite body, the "presciti", gives rise to changes in dependent or related theories as follows:

1. The essence of true religion becomes individualistic, rather than hierarchical or social.

1. Arnold. S. E. W. p. 130; also Polemical Works II. 61, 705

2. The personal character of the priest becomes a touchstone to determine the efficacy of his ministry.
3. Salvation is no longer dependent upon membership in the visible Church.
4. The doctrine of the Perseverance of the Saints is asserted.
5. Personal or communal riches, tithes, unlawful privileges, etc., are evidence of unworthiness in the clergy.
6. The Church through all the ages is one in Christ.
7. The pope cannot have been the head of the historic Church.
8. There is no need of a pope or an episcopacy in the Church
9. Indulgences are, negatively, worthless and, positively Sinful.
10. Sacraments are denied their generally accepted magical power (ex opere operato).
11. Excommunication becomes ineffective as a weapon of the Church.

Of these we shall consider briefly the first four, as they are directly related to the Nature of the Church. The others will be considered later and in other connections.

1. It is doubtful whether religion has ever produced a more pronounced individualist than Wyclif. Perhaps Luther is the nearest approach to him; and yet Luther was ~~Luther was~~ impelled by instinct and policy to retain some elements of the old order. Calvin, from premises almost identical with Wyclif's

constructed a church organization and discipline, and seems to have had in mind as he worked and wrote the assembling of men in groups for religious and political purposes. But Wyclif apparently gave no thought to constructing a religious organization and to interpreting truth in terms of that unit. He was concerned most that men as individuals should find access to God, and was uninterested in rules and restrictions which presumed to infringe upon that one purpose. Was it oversight on his part that no such socializing instruction was given, or was he unable to construct such an organization? One would hesitate to answer either of those questions in the affirmative, for Wyclif, in the first case, seems most thorough, exact, and deliberate, and careless omissions are not easily found in his writings, and more especially in his elaborated arguments. In the latter case, one hesitates to deny to Wyclif the ability to prepare a message for a social unit like the Church, in view of what he did to demolish old conceptions of the Church and construct new ones in their places. No, it must be admitted that if he did not do so, it was because he intended not to do so.

The consequences of his conception of the nature of the Church as composed of individuals related solely to God gave rise to some interesting phenomena. His disciples, or at least their successors, became rabid political individualists, some going so far as that paradoxical limit, anarchism bordering on communism. There is no sufficient evidence to accuse Wyclif of teaching anarchy; but nevertheless men who felt little, if any, of his ~~his~~ inhibition proceeding from true spiritual communion

with God, and a culture that made him Master of Balliol, were unlikely to stop ^{short} of stark selfishness as the consequence of his individualism.

Moreover, the psychological premises he used excluded all gradations of, and necessity for, a priesthood, and at the same time rendered worthless the sacraments, and their efficacy in the eyes of the Church. Here was proclaimed with no timidity the doctrine of the Universal Priesthood of Believers, and no reformer ever went farther or preceded more clearly to set it forth than did Wyclif. Each man, according to him, stood separately and openly before God, without mediation of priest, sacrament, or Church.

The only restraint he placed upon his individual relationship to God and to society was the Word of God. Each man might read this and interpret for himself, and by its guidance he must live and die, and enter into heaven or come short of it. This matter rightfully enters into Wyclif's conception of authority, so we shall defer the present discussion.

2. His theory that the Church is composed of the elect undermined any authority the hierarchical Church might lend to its priesthood, and invalidated a priest's acts so far as the mechanical transmission of any blessing, favor, or curse by him were concerned. If the existing organization of the Church might be "lymes of the fend", obviously no man would be constrained to receive their ministrations unless their habits and reputations clearly disowned such a rela-

tionship. Stated concisely, the matter stood thus: A good man might be a member of the visible church and thereby be endued with whatever advantages it possessed. Of course it was possible that he might be one of the foreknown still striving after good; but the fact that he had apparently good intentions, that he was of good reputation, and was free from the vices of the clergy of his time: these argued in his favor. On the other hand, the cleric who was lecherous, heretical or simoniacal or otherwise ungodly in his manner of living plainly indicated that he was no member of the Universal Church, and was deserving of none of the consideration of such. Sometimes, it is true, the elect fall into sin; but one can discover with fair assurance such individuals.

Thus Wyclif makes the personal life of a priest the index of his membership in the body of the redeemed. The friars, of whom he speaks so often and so bitterly, and the heretical and vicious popes are no part of Christ's body, but are the "synagogue of Satan". Their actions speak louder than their professions or positions, and their intercession or administration of the sacraments, leaves one unsatisfied and suspicious about their efficacy.

"My words fly up, my thoughts remain below:
Words without thoughts never to heaven go."

3. Wyclif has been either vigorously denounced or completely ignored by many churchmen because of the implications of his conception of the Church upon Church authority, the sacraments, and orders. Whatever his personal opinion and practice might have been, it is undoubtedly true that

Wyclif attacked the root of the whole ecclesiastical system when he denied to the visible Church, per se, authority and efficacy in salvation. Councils had confirmed the doctrine that there could be no salvation outside the Church and had further indicated that Church as the Roman one, and its head as the Bishop of Rome, and had developed a sacramental theory supporting that position. But Wyclif first denied that the visible Church had anything to do with matters of the invisible Church, and affirmed, moreover, that a man is not saved by the ministrations of an organization so external as the Church of his day. This led at once to the inference - and men were not slow to draw it - that the visible Church is not indispensable, and that men can be saved without having membership in it.

The reaction of any reader to Wyclif's doctrine will be determined entirely by whether he regards the visible Church as possessing particular and individual authority in its sacraments, or whether he regards it as a temporary organization, with declarative and hortatory powers, intended to assist, not direct, the progress of men. The churchman will condemn Wyclif for seeking to remove from the Church its historic place in the plan of Christ, invalidating its long-enjoyed rights of spiritual government and oversight. A disciple of Wyclif will hail him as the first to cast out the assumed mediation and authority of the Church and proclaim that one may come to Christ and serve Him according to the instructions of Scripture and the dictates of one's conscience.

4. As a consequence of Wyclif's conception of the nature of the Church, there was emphasized also in his works what is generally known as a theory of the Perseverance of the Saints. Philosophically, there was no escape for him from this position. If a man is elected by God to salvation, then no matter how he may stray or lapse into sin he will eventually be brought back. Conversely, no matter how well a 'pre-scit~~us~~' may act, or how much good he may do, the good done will not effect his standing with God more than to lessen his ultimate punishment and gain a partial right to temporal things (1). Further, Christ cannot cease to love His spouse or any part of her (2). The elect have faith which they cannot lose by falling from membership in the body of Christ's spouse, even though they enter into mortal sin. It follows, therefore, that the Church may excommunicate them or cut them off from earthly communion, but it cannot sever them from the body of Christ(3). If one who is predestinated of God should sin, he loses for the time his station as a man of virtue, and may suffer loss of his dominion(4); but there is in him that highest grace, which is not a thing but a quality given by God, by which the man will ultimately be restored (5). Thus the theory took form in Wyclif's teaching. The writer feels no necessity either to approve or condemn it.

Professor M'Giffert has summarized Wyclif's theory of the nature of the Church concisely. Perhaps he overstates

1. De Ecclesia p. 468

2. Ibid. p. 79.

3. Ibid. p. 111.

4. Ibid. p. 141

5. Ibid. p. 140

his case; but should this be the feeling of a reader, it should be remembered that he is a Protestant and non-conformist, and therefore should be expected to be quite unprejudiced in his attitude to Wyclif. He writes thus: "Of course, on this theory, membership in the visible Catholic Church has nothing to do with membership in the true Church of Christ or with participation in the sacraments. To the elect the sacraments are unnecessary, to the non-elect vain. To be within the visible Church is no help, to be without it no hindrance. The predestinated who constitute the true Church of Christ are known to nobody but God. They are not even sure that they are themselves elect, much less can they tell whether their fellows are, and so no social bond holds them together. Here on earth they do not form a community in any sense, and the word church loses all meaning in its application to them. It signifies no more than the sum of the scattered and mutually unrelated individuals who will one day be gathered in heaven, and there for the first time compose a real community. What we have in this is really not a new idea of the Church substituted for the old, but the idea of the Church destroyed altogether. For whatever it may be called, a totality of segregated and independent units, unknown both to themselves and others, certainly has no attribute which entitles it to bear the name of "Church"(1).

Whatever one may think of the fairness of the conclusions stated above, one must have realized - as the above writer did - that the steps of Wyclif's processes are logical, and the conclusions inevitable.

1. Protestant Thought before Kant. p. 18.

AUTHORITY

The writer proposes to give comparatively little space to this aspect of Wyclif's conception of the nature of the Church. The present thesis proposes to trace, if possible, the "evolution" of the theory and doctrine of the Church in England, and the writer feels convinced that, in view of the nature of Ockham's work as compared with Wyclif's, an evolution may be better observed in other aspects of Wyclif's work.

Two arguments against thus passing over Wyclif's views of authority present themselves, and must be considered for a moment. First, a statement made by Principal Workman in his very recent and amazingly exhaustive study of Wyclif, in which he says, "whatever be the decision of research as to Wyclif's contribution to the first English Bible, no one can deny his constant appeal to the Scriptures as the primary and absolute authority ...In this emphasis Wyclif was not alone: he followed closely in the footsteps of Grosseteste and Ockham. But there is a fundamental difference between Wyclif and his predecessors. Grosseteste and Ockham always think of Scripture, creeds, and dogmas, as in harmony or combination; whereas Wyclif advanced to the position so characteristic of the later Reformation of distinguishing between the Bible and the teaching of the church and its doctors".(1).

Principal Workman has shown evidences of a thorough and sympathetic analysis of the writings of Grosseteste with

1. John Wyclif: A Study of the English Medieval Church. Vol. II, pp. 149-150

this idea in view, and the writer professes no knowledge of his work. But Principal Workman has included in the above negation Ockham as well as Grosseteste, and the writer feels compelled to reply that he has found no sufficient evidence in Ockham's writings to justify the assertion that Ockham always thought of "Scripture, creeds, and dogmas as in harmony or combination" as compared to the assertion that Wyclif was able "to distinguish between the teachings of the Bible and the Church and its doctors". The portion of the present thesis dealing with Ockham's conception of authority was prepared before the writer had seen Principal Workman's book. But it is felt that if the writer has not set forth Ockham as the pioneer among those who appealed to Holy Scripture as sole authority, over against popes, Canon Law, Doctors, and even General Councils, then it was entirely the fault of the writer and not of the abundant evidences available in the writings of Ockham. The writer, therefore, takes exception to the statement of Principal Workman, and on the contrary asserts that in the respect mentioned Ockham truly set up a standard beyond which Wyclif did not pass.

There is, however, a second argument which would seem to support Wyclif's advance over Ockham in regard to the Scripture, - that his name has been for generations associated with the first complete translation of the Bible into English. It is necessary to state at once, therefore, that the writer neither undervalues nor seeks to minimize the importance of Wyclif's contribution to the reverence due the Scriptures, or his commendable desire to give the people the Bible in their

own tongue. The impression is often obtained, from reading mediaeval theologians, especially Scholastics, that quotations from Scripture are offered in much the same way as those from the Canon Law or some secular writer. But Wyclif's references to Scripture usually breathe an atmosphere of personal reverence and deference. One needs but read the Sermons to sense a feeling akin to joy in Wyclif when he invokes the assistance of the Bible to sustain or expound his contention. And Wyclif gives page after page, not alone in the "De Veritate Scripturae" but in sermons and polemics proving that he placed the authority of the Word of God above every other and quite unrivalled.

Of course Wyclif's concern in the preparation of an English translation is but another evidence of the high estimate he had of the Bible. And without doubt whatever the amount of his contribution to the work of translation may have been, he gave it gladly that the people might have a standard of judgment and conduct that was not warped by human weakness. It was to him the true, life-giving power of God, infallible and yet accessible to all. But Ockham believed no less than this and, apart from translating it for his day, was as profoundly convinced of its infallibility as one could be. Therefore the writer, for the purposes of the present thesis, refrains from setting down the many references he has culled from Wyclif's work, and merely states that Wyclif held the later Reformation view of the nature of the Holy Scripture.

GOVERNMENT AND DISCIPLINE

The Latin Church of Wyclif's day was indeed empirical in its fundamental conceptions. There is little need to look far for evidences of this: the growth of the organization itself is quite sufficient evidence. Further, any attempt on the part of the laity to fathom the secret processes of its management was severely discouraged. So when Wyclif began to consider the matter of reforming the organization of the Church, he found it divided into two very widely separated classes - a self-contained and ambitious clergy, and a timid, reactionary laity. There was between these two groups amazingly ^{little of} common understanding, and it is not at all unlikely that the common tendency of the clergy to aspire to the dual role of churchmen and temporal rulers caused this breach to widen, and increased the dislike of the laity for the clergy. At any rate, when the Poor Priests undertook to bridge the chasm by giving the people a clergy who were not self-seeking and political, but rather interested in teaching, preaching, and works of mercy, there resulted such a reaction on the part of Rome as had never been seen before in England. Of course the Poor Priests were exterminated in the confusion; but the eyes of the people were opened to the contempt in which they were held by the Church, and to the possibilities of a proper relationship between a priesthood and people.

Wyclif advanced three important propositions relating to the problem of government in the Church: the universal

priesthood of believers, as opposed to the false accentuation of clerico-laity distinction; the identity of presbyters and bishops; and the fallibility of the Pope and consequent limitation of the Church's commonly accepted prerogatives.

The first of these is discussed elsewhere in the present work. It is only necessary here to recall that Wyclif made a definite and direct call or appointment by Christ the real stamp of approval for any Christian service. He freely admits that many of the clergy continue to discharge faithfully the duties of their office; but they do so, not because they have been ordained in apostolic succession or are members of the hierarchy, but because they are themselves men called of Christ and are, in purity of life, ministering as His servants. The idea of the priesthood of all believers rests on the conception of the predestinated or elect. But nowhere is it apparent that Wyclif denied the proper function and necessity of a clergy who were qualified to teach, inspire, and lead the laity. He did, however, deny the contrary assumption^{that} one could not be saved without the ministration and intercession of the clergy. He rather urged men to place their faith in Jesus Christ, to pray, and to live according to divine commandment; when these conditions were satisfied, there remained nothing to deprive the believer of access to God through Christ.

The second proposition, referred to above, follows from the foregoing. Since Wyclif considered that the Church was not dependent for its existence upon the clergy, but that rather, through its living relationship with Christ, its secret strength lay in the faith of the individuals, it is natural

to find him disregarding strict ideas of Episcopacy. He seems to have asserted, since he recognized only the office of a priest, that all episcopal gradations and orders of office should be discarded. Though he himself was one of the secular clergy, yet his ideal of Church administration seems to have been that of a democratic equality both in legislation and administration. He evidently felt an incongruity between an episcopacy, and synods and councils. He accepted from Jerome the idea of the identity of the episcopacy and the presbytery, and devoted much effort to citing Scriptural evidence on the issue. In regard to the identification, he says, "Unum audacter assero, quod in primitiva ecclesia ut tempore Pauli sufferunt duo ordines clericorum, scilicet sacerdos atque dyaconus. Similiter dico, quod tempore Pauli fuit idem Presbiter atque Episcopus". (1). He maintained that confirmation is without foundation in the Bible, and that any claim by a bishop of power to transmit or bestow the Holy Spirit is arrogance and blasphemy; that consecration of priests as a sacrament has insufficient warrant, and that there is no dependence for qualification to office upon the ordination of a bishop, and no indelible character or grace conferred by such ordination.

This leads to the third proposition concerning the government of the Church stated above, to which we may refer very briefly here.

Wyclif, unaware of the spurious nature of the Pseudo-Isidorean Decretals, was led to grant more justice to the

1. Trialogus IV. Cap. 15.

temporal claims of the Pope than he would otherwise have done. Lechler suggested that Wyclif's attitude towards the Papacy and the idea of an Imperial Church may be divided into three periods, corresponding to certain arbitrary chronological divisions of his life. In the first, prior to 1378, he recognized the Papal supremacy within certain limits; in the second, prior to 1381 he held in principle an idea of emancipation; in the final period, or until his death, he most bitter opposition to the Papacy.(1). It seems not at all contrary to the historic facts: sometimes even a most casual reading will reveal a difference between his attitudes. At times he seems willing to accord to it a certain reverence; at other times he expresses only antagonism. Finally, in the "Trialogus", he considers the claims of the Pope to be blasphemous.

There are, I believe, at least two reasons for his denial of the infallibility of the Pope and therefore of his executive authority, and these underlie Wyclif's theory of Church government.

In the first place, circumstances placed Wyclif in such a position that he could observe the fallacy of such a claim. The abuses of the Great Schism - to which reference is made elsewhere - furnished indisputable evidence that belief in infallibility was impossible. Further, it destroyed public confidence in the justice and efficacy of the Church's discipline, in the sacraments - from the point of view of Aquinas - and in the character of the average clergyman.

Immediately at hand Wyclif found sufficient evidence to

create and justify suspicion and mistrust of the entire hierarchical scheme. Urquhart, of Oxford, in assailing Wyclif, admits that the time was favorable for such a reaction as that of Wyclif: "even the exclusive use of Scripture as a standard of faith was comprehensive at a time when the allegiance of Christendom was being claimed by two popes"(1):

The other factor contributing to Wyclif's opposition to the imperialism of Rome was his spiritual and philosophical conception of the Church. It has been noted that, according to his view, no one was certain of his own predestination by God. How, then, could one, uncertain of his own spiritual condition, speak with authority upon matters of faith where another, perhaps actually predestinated and filled with "grace", advanced an opposite opinion. Granting the premises, the logic if this argument is inescapable. The tract "De Potestate Papa", as well as many of his Latin and English polemical writings, is concerned with Scriptural and logical refutation of infallibility. Moreover, "Power" in the Church and State is derived from the "dominion of grace". In this way he harmonizes the government of the king and of the Church, maintaining that both exercise authority by the Grace of God, and that all government is thus constituted. In the section on "The Church and State", in this thesis, his theory of "Dominion" will be considered more carefully. But enough is here given to indicate Wyclif's attitude towards an hierarchical system that claimed temporal and political, as well as spiritual, authority.

Professor Hearnshaw (2) has suggested that had Wyclif died ten years sooner, he would have passed into utter obli-

1. Catholic Encyclopaedia. XV. p. 723 b. (#. v.)

2. Social and Political Ideas of the Middle Ages p. 215

vion, which is doubtless a somewhat exaggerated statement, such as one comes to expect of him in any matter concerning Wyclif. But the possibilities of Wyclif having died ten years later are even more intriguing. For one thing, he would probably have collected his many assertions, veritable logical dynamite for the most part, into one bomb that might have shaken the mediaeval Church out of the lethargy from which even the Reformatory Councils were unable to rouse her. As Luther for Germany, or Calvin for Geneva, formulated a positive and constructive body of law containing the fruits of the years of careful preparation; so doubtless this versatile and profound Yorkshireman would have given to England a government and discipline of the Church that would have been unique.

His ideal of Church organization seems to^{be} indicated in the following quotation: " How blessedful were tho Chirche to renne aftir Crist, if it were onely payed of tho ordynaunce of hym, and broght up no newe lawes, ne no newe sectis, bot amendid mysdoeris by Cristis owne lawe, and bringe hom ageyne to tho lyve that Crist hymself ordeyned! And then tho dowynges of the emperoure had nouthur comen in, ne his prelatys had not blasphemed thus ageynes Goddis lawe, ne these private religiouse schulde nouthur on this wyse have stourblid Cristis Chirche, ne pervertid his ordir. Ffor chaunouns, munkis, and freres schulden noght then have stonden inosted, bot few pore prestis schulde have sufficed to tho Chirche by pure Cristis lawe ...hit were better to hye Cristis ordenaunce then ordenaunce of Benett or Domynek or Fraunces ... Lord,

sith poul presumed not to founde soche sectis, why schulde foles and ydiotes take this upon hom?" (1).

Discipline.

The Church found itself severely handicapped when it attempted to exercise discipline in the life of its members, because they were so hopelessly divided by caste and rank. The average of the nobility was in all respects, spiritual not excepted, the equal of the clergy. These secretly despised the foreign-dominated Church, and were only restrained by excommunication and the interdict from driving the agents of Rome and Avignon from the country. With these the Church could do little, nor did it attempt much more^{than} to collect its tribute money, and officiate at christenings, marriages, and funerals. On the other hand, the Church found itself separated from the great mass of people because of their poverty. It attempted to control the poor, and to maintain them in their servile attitude towards society by teaching them a false and casuistic theory of the honor of poverty. It is true that Wyclif urged clergy to lives of poverty, but he did this in order that they might be humbled, and so be able to sympathize with and win the poor. But his idea, in this respect was quite different from that of the Church. The Peasants' Revolt of 1381, in which the archbishop, among others, lost his head, is an index of the success of such an effort at repression.

The homes of the poor were rude and comfortless. The people were ignorant almost beyond our belief, and it was a strong temptation for an educated person to take advantage of

the situation. The common folk were superstitious, uncouth, and often indelicate if not indecent. The attempt of the Church to control them by the observance of fast days and holidays, of which there were a ~~great~~ many, was not successful, because people would attend Mass and then retire to an ale house and there spend the remainder of the day and the evening in drunkenness. One needs only read the disciplinary enactments of synods of the time, and the penalties of "Penitentials" to understand how gross and brutal many of the practices of the age had become. One is sometimes tempted to say of some of them, in the words of a common expression, that they were "unmoral rather than immoral".

Even - or should we say, especially? - the clergy were lax in these respects. The friars had no scruples about joining in these carousals. They were seeking to gain the confidence and purse-strings of the people, and as a consequence had to do considerable amounts of adapting their religious ideals to the secular standards of the time. Wyclif expresses the situation thus: they shared in "veyn songis and knackyng and harpyng, guternyng and daunsyng, and othere veyn trifflis to geten the stynkyng loue of damyselis"(1). He further complains that these friars, instead of preaching and teaching, were seeking to ingratiate themselves with the hostesses, and accuses them of giving presents to the hostesses among which are lap-dogs. Furthermore, the friars waste their money for luxurious clothes, and they use enough cloth in a rope and cowl to clothe four or five people, and are not satisfied with clothes that fit, but want loose

1. Matthew. English Works. p. 9

flowing garments to hide their obesity.

In all this confusion there were two means of ecclesiastical discipline: the confessional and the penalty or advice given in connection with it, and the excommunication. Wyclif saw and appreciated the fact that confession and the imposition of penance was a point of contact between the church and its constituents; that through this channel might flow many benefits which would tend to raise the ideals of the people. He differed little from Luther in regard to the function of the confessional when rightly used. Both admitted that people are in need of spiritual counsel; that a priest, if he be one of pure motives and chaste life, can offer such counsel; and finally, that there is a great psychological, if not moral, benefit to be obtained from unburdening the secrets of the heart to a confidant. But both protested most emphatically against the confessional as it existed in its degenerated condition. The fault, briefly, was this. A man, guilty of some heinous sin, might confess this sin to a parish priest or to a friar and receive absolution. In both cases the result was forgiveness, an "I assoyle thee"; but in the former case the shame of confessing to a priest familiar with the circumstances of the sin and the character of the one confessing was a deterrent factor in conduct; in the latter case, since no bond of acquaintance existed between the friar and the confessor, the case was seldom exposed completely or a penalty of sufficient severity imposed. Therefore, the mendicant friars undermined the real value of confession, whatever that value may have been.

On the other hand, there was a progressive element in the Church which became dissatisfied with the naïve method of the former confessional. This group desired more preaching and expressed dislike for the confessional, and the conflicts waged over this in the Church are a matter of common history. The pagan element of the Church saw their hold on those progressives slipping if the confessional was discarded; so the matter of confession became a point of severe insistence on the part of the hierarchy, and of evasion by the friars, who read the signs of the times and sought to give the people what they wanted. It was inevitable that whatever value had remained in the confessional should thus be lost. The sinner was made the object of special study by the friars, and the most tactful and attractive method of approach to the people was cultivated. The friars excelled the parish priests; but both, in their greed and over-anxiety, betrayed the truth to the people. And so, with the weight of the excommunication behind it, the confessional hung like the sword of Damocles over the heads of clergy and laity alike. An institution of power it had been; but now it was despised by all alike because of its abuses.

Wyclif attacked this corrupt practice with vigor. He felt that it was still, in spite of its apparent weakness, the seat of Papal power and domination. He insisted first that the confession was to be made only to God who alone can forgive. "No man mai forgyve synne but if Crist forgyve it first"(1). That the priest may hear a confession as an adviser is not forbidden; but he must not exceed his author-

1. Arnold. S. E. W. II p. 417

ity. "preestis assoillen as Goddis vikeris, according to Goddis assoilingis"(1). He devotes an entire tract (2) to showing that auricular confession is not sacramentally necessary; that Christ did not teach it, that he did not use it when he forgave Mary Magdalene; and that the apostles did not use absolution. "We shulden beleue that grace of God is so great and plentyouse that is a man synne never so much ne so long in his lyue, if he wole aske of God mercye and be contrite for his synne, God wole forgyve him his synne withouten sicke iapes of prestes"(3). The confessional was an invention of Innocent III; our Lord never ordained it (4). So the possibility for wholesome and intelligent discipline was lost to the Church, and there remained only the excommunication or "curse".

The excommunication might be pronounced in the form of a curse upon an individual, or upon an entire province or nation. In the former case the victim was cut off from communion with other members of Christ's body, was given over to the Devil, and specific curses covering every part of his body were solemnly pronounced by the cleric. In the latter case, that of a nation, the penalty was even more severe. The dead were refused Christian burial; churches were closed, and all religious exercises ceased. Living and dying alike fared as best they might without the aid of Rome. Indeed, the real value of this latter interdict was to force a blind obedience by a veritable reign of terror, against which no secular power cared to assert itself unnecessarily.

Here, then, is the disciplinary value of excommunication. One excommunicated is made an exile from home and friends,

1. Arnold S.E.W. I. p. 35

2. Matthew Eng. Works p. 339

3. Matthew Eng. Works p. 328

4. Ibid. p. 332

a fugitive from law, forever separated from the blessings of heaven, unless he submits to the censure and penance of the Roman Church. And Wyclif's attitude may be gathered from the following statements of his, taken from the bulls of condemnation of him issued by Gregory XI:

1. We know that it is impossible that the Vicar of Christ should, purely by his bulls, or by them with the will and consent of himself and his college of Cardinals, qualify or disqualify anyone.

2. It is not possible for any man to be excommunicated unless he be first and principally excommunicated by himself,

3. Nobody is excommunicated, suspended, or tormented with other censures, so as to be the worse of it, unless it be in the cause of God.

4. Cursing or excommunication does not bind simply of itself, but only so far as it is pronounced against an adversary of the law of Christ.

5. Christ has given to his subjects no example of power to excommunicate subjects principally for their denying temporal things, but has rather given them an example to the contrary(1).

The fatal weakness of excommunication became apparent to Wyclif in its practice. The spectacle, during the Great Schism, of two popes cursing each other with almost every conceivable and horrible term was not only disillusionizing to him, but provocative of like effort on his own part - presumably on the naïve principle, "the more the merrier". Moreover, it is a sign of weakness when the disciplinarian must constantly have recourse to his most severe punishment. The edge of its effectiveness was dulled, and reformation was replaced, through anticipation of it, by resentment. While men feared it, they attached no reformatory or sympathetic motive to it, but saw it as it was, the tool of an entrenched and worldly Papacy.

1. Sargeant "John Wyclif". pp, 177-178.

WORSHIP

It is thought wise to indicate briefly something of Wyclif's views regarding the proper conception of worship, since this element in the evolution of the Church in England became more apparent in the years immediately preceding the Reformation and in the contribution of Cranmer to the Church. Ockham was apparently not greatly concerned with this aspect of the Church, and for that reason it had not been considered in the previous discussion of him.

Wyclif seems to have been suspicious of elaborate ritualism in public worship, even in spite of the fact that he was probably accustomed to considerable formality in his association with the University of Oxford, and that he was an acceptable rector in the Church of his day. Concerning the matter he thus expressed himself: "Would that so many ceremonies and symbols in our church were not multiplied, since the works of saints and other ritual services are not worthy of praise, except to the extent to which they rouse the mind to consider the kingdom of Christ"(1). He further explains his meaning, "in a carnally sensuous spirit those symbols with their human traditions have more weight than the spiritual things they signify, even in attending to the word of God more with the bodily eye than with the eye of the mind and especially the light of faith"(2).

Spirituality seems to have been the reed with which he measured the appropriateness of the church building, the

1. De Ecclesia. P. 45,

2. Ibid p. 459

prayer, the preaching, the Mass, the music, and every other act of worship. It might be possible to interpose the objection here that Wyclif was not concerned so much with simplicity in worship as with combating a modernizing tendency which had crept in during the century in which he lived: that, in other words, he was reactionary and not reformatory. Lechler, for instance, did not recognize such a possibility; but, on the other hand, it may have been because in his study of Wyclif he gave little attention to a consideration of church music as a part of the service, for in a consideration of such a kind the question would most naturally be raised. However, while feeling that Lechler was right in his attitude, it is best to discover what Wyclif believed and said for himself.

We know from contemporary records and subsequent investigation that the churches of the age in which Wyclif lived far excelled in beauty and appointment any other organization or expression of artistic beauty. The plans of these churches had been brought from the Continent, though modifications, due to local conditions, brought about many important changes in the imported style. Exteriors were determined largely by the particular qualities of the materials at hand and by the climate, and modifications of the continental plans are apparent, for instance, in buttressing, especially the use of the external flying buttress, and in the clerestory, and in the position and contour of towers. Churches such as Durham, Lincoln, Winchester, or Salisbury, were easily the dominating artistic accomplishment of the

shires in which they were located, and represented an unquestioned contribution to beauty. But they were erected at an enormous cost, considering living expenses of the time, and by an almost unbelievable amount of manual labor in quarrying, transporting, and erecting the materials. When completed, these cathedrals and the surrounding buildings became the abode of the local bishop, canons, clergy, and monks and friars, and the hub of activity for their life. Undoubtedly many abuses sprang up in this connection.

Wyclif opposed the condition, first, because he believed that the clergy should not give so much attention to things that were, or bordered so closely on, temporal interests; and second, because the churches, with their artistic decorations, detracted from the spirit of worship (1). He especially opposed pictorial representations in stained glass windows, the decoration of church interiors in colors other than the natural stone finish, and the hanging of paintings in the churches (2). He elsewhere expressed his objection from another and more popular point of view: "If one should say that great churches are in themselves tributes to God, and conducive to worship on the part of the people, ask him what is gained by the parish churches now becoming dilapidated and unfit for use.

Here then, in brief, seems to be Wyclif's objection to great and costly churches and cathedrals: that they draw the attention of the worshipper away from prayer and meditation upon God; that the lavish expenditure of money and labor

1. De Ecclesia. Caps. XIII-XIV.

2. Matthew. English Works p. 8

3. Ibid. p. 14

for one cathedral caused the neglect of many useful country parishes; and that they encouraged the clergy to ease and laziness, and to conceptions of religion quite beyond the interest of the poor parishioners.

Closely related to this was the matter of the use of images. The Iconoclastic controversy had purged to some extent the Eastern Church, but had left the Western Church committed to their use. At the time of the controversy and for some time after, it was maintained - and we have reason to believe verified in practice - that images were not intended as more than a means of suggesting to the lay mind the spiritual experiences and personages they represented. But inevitably, according to the laws of the mind, the layman lost the meaning of the practice and mistook the sign for the thing signified. Moreover, Wyclif objected to the attempts of sculptors and painters to visualize and represent God, Jesus Christ, and the Holy Spirit, on the ground that such practices limit the worshipper's own conception and make fixed a stilted and sometimes unfortunate representation; so that the "Father of heaven was an olde hoar man", and the Son either between the knees of the Father or on the cross, and the Holy Spirit invariably appeared as a dove. His keen perception in the matter seems to have been verified by subsequent history, in that modern religious education has experienced great difficulty in removing from the minds of people in general the idea of an effeminate and insipid Jesus received in childhood from classic representations of him in the various arts. Wyclif, in any case, concluded that images as a means of

worship resulted in serious harm.

Regarding Prayer, Wyclif had much to say. Perhaps he was not entirely free from the influence of his age in his conception of this aspect of worship. It would seem that at times he means by prayer the recitation of set phrases from some missal or breviary, for we often note him extolling the "Pater Noster" and similar exercises, and denying the value of "new" prayers. There are a number of sermons on subjects like the "Pater Noster" and the "Ave Maria"; but in every case I have studied I find he emphasized the fact that the Lord's Prayer is a model for, and contains all the elements of, a proper prayer; whereas one given 'ex tempore' is sure to be lacking in some respects.

Wyclif also emphasized the spiritual element in prayer by placing emphasis upon the subjective relationship of the individual to God, rather than upon the external form of its expression. "Ask of God heavenly wealth such as grace, will, and ability to serve God" (1); or again, "It is to be wondered why men pray so much according to this new custom of crying aloud with much excitement, instead of the quiet manner of prayer which Christ and his apostles adopted" (2). Most beautifully does he express the idea - did Coleridge find the suggestion in Wyclif? * that the desire to pray and the efficacy of the prayer depend upon the attitude and state of the heart from which the prayer comes. Some of the many almost identical phrases he used are these: "Certainly that man that loveth God best prayeth best" (3); elsewhere he said

1. Arnold S. E. W. III. pp. 220 f.

2. Ibid. p. 284

3. Matthew. English Works. "An Order of Priesthood Cap 16

that he prays best who loves all things best. But prayer which is appropriate and dignified must be found in the spirit of all the forms and acts of worship.

Because it is so closely akin to prayer in the exercises of public worship, we are led to consider another aspect of worship about which Wyclif had considerable to say - Church Music. The introduction of this element into the public warship was not of recent origin, for Pliny bore witness that the primitive Christians utilized it; and such great leaders as Gregory, and ^{Ambrose}~~Bernard~~ of ^{Milan}~~Clairvaux~~ had developed a generally accepted form for it.

Of course the music of the church service had been confined almost entirely to the choirs. The congregation had neither psalter or hymnary; in fact it had not even a copy of the service or Mass until later. The worshipper knew no Latin and had no means of understanding the service. He was a spectator, except in so far as he could join in the response to the Ave Maria and repeat his Pater Noster - which were considerable accomplishments in themselves. That it was intended to be so seems evident from the fact that clergy and laity used different forms of worship, even to creeds; the priest used the Nicene formula, and the people a version of the Apostles Creed.

Under these circumstances it is evident that Church Music was in the hands of the choir. But the people had a sort of music of their own, love songs and ballads, to be sure; and these secular songs exerted an influence upon the

music of the Church which was provoking to Wyclif. He complained that foul songs, the sweet notes of ballads and drinking songs, are heard in the church (1), and that the chanting of the Kyrie, the Sanctus, the Agnus Dei, and the Gloria have become so attractive as regards the music that the words were entirely ignored. (2).

It would seem that, in addition to the secular source of the music, there was a form of accentuation or syncopation which manifested itself in a perennial form of response on the part of the listeners, so that the rendition of an hitherto staid and dolorous chant was now accompanied by tappings of peasant clogs in rhythm with the music. The priests seem to have busied themselves more at learning and teaching this new song than at learning and teaching Christ's Gospel; and it is marvelous, he says, because the song distracts the singer from an attitude of devotion and keeps men from noting the words of the song by crying (evidently singing at a high pitch), and by jolly rhythms that stir men and women up to dance, and thereby prevent true meditation on Holy Writ (3). He complained often of "counter note", probably the modern counterpoint (4), and speaks also of organ and dischaunt. But the source of most objection, so far as style of composition is concerned was the syncopation or pronounced accent which he characterized as "smale brekynges" (5), and he scornfully characterized, even at that early time, melodies containing these as "ditties".

A third objection to music as used in the worship of

1. Arnold. S.E.W. III. p. 480
2. Ibid. p. 481
3. Matthew. Eng. Works. p. 169

4. Ibid. p. 191, 77, etc.
5. Ibid. p. 191.

the Church in his day was that it tended to create jealousy in choirs, vanity among the soloists, and headaches among all within hearing: I transliterate a typical passage: "First men ordained songs of mourning, when they were in prison, for teaching the Gospel now are matins, and Mass, and even-song, ~~p~~lacebo, and dirge, and commendacion, and matins of Our Lady ordained of sinful men, to be sung with high crying, to keep men from the sentence and understanding of that which was thus sung, and to make men weary and indisposed to study God's Law for aching of heads. And within a short time there were vain jokes found, and dischaunt, and counter note, and organ, and small breaking, that tend to stir vain men to dancing more than to mourning for when there are forty or fifty in a choir, three or four proud and disrespectful villains break up the most devout sentence, and all the others in the choir have to remain silent and gaze at the soloists like fools. And then these strumpets and thieves praise Sir Jack or Ho or William the proud clerk about how small they break² (knacken) their notes" (1).

The function of preaching as a part of public worship, though not wholly disregarded, was very much neglected when Wyclif began his reforms. As a consequence the people were dependent upon the ritual of the Mass and the confessional for instruction in the Word of God. There was not a abundance of copies of the Bible even after Wyclif's translation was made available, for he said that few curates had it, and

there is little mention of its possession in documents and wills of the time. Chaucer and other contemporary writers indicate that preaching was generally ignored, It was the duty of the parish priest to expound the creed, the Pater Noster, and the Ave Maria often to the people; It was also to preach sermons on Holy Days and on the anniversaries of Saints' Days. How well these customs were observed may be gathered from statements in contemporary literature that in some cases there were only three sermons in a year. What wonder the clergy were spoken of as "dourbe houndis" (1). Wyclif mentions the fact that there are clergy who "prechen not but onys or thries in the yeer"(2).

Of the small minority who really attempted to preach there were three sorts: the first, who disregarded the needs and understandings of the particular parish and preached intricate and unintelligible Scholastic sermons; the second, who, to use a modern characterization of the same practice, "took a text and then took to the woods", leaving the congregation, at the end, wondering Osric-like about the concernancy of what had been said; and the third, who expounded and applied the Scriptures with a view to the needs of the hearers.

Of the first class of preachers Wyclif says many and bitter things. These were the men who seized every available opportunity to exhibit their scholarly accomplishments. This method one might expect to find in Wyclif's own sermons; yet the fact that he is conscious of the possibility causes us to

1. Mediaeval Poem, "Piers Plowman".
2. Matthew. English Works. p. 6

read his works even more closely. Consequently it has been discovered that on the margin of a Vienna manuscript of a very technical sermon the following notation has been made: "Magistri et studentis notate". The opinion thus set forth has been verified by subsequent study, - that Wyclif's scholastic sermons were preached while he was yet at Oxford, with professors and students for audiences. I have read all the available sermons with this fact in mind, and, while they are not the most interesting possible, from a modern point of view, there are few instances where it is not evident that he was prompted by motives of sincerity and simplicity. However, it is not difficult to understand how an academic method could creep into the homiletical method of the time.

But there was no available defense for a scholastic dissertation. The people were not, as a rule, familiar with Latin, and hence were unacquainted with Literature and Logic, and any effort on the part of a preacher to be pedantic could only confuse them and deaden any interest they might have in the application of God's Word. As a result these priests were either feared or despised by the people and made more conceited in their own eyes. It may well be that Wyclif's conception of a preacher's duty is applicable to any age, when he says, "thei shulden wisely lede her sheep in sound pasture of Goddis lawe, and the sheep that weren scabbid heelen and stablin in good liif, and algatis put her liif to save her sheep agens wolves" (1).

Of the second class of preachers, Wyclif speaks in terms of bitterest condemnation. They perceive that preaching

1. Arnold. S. E. W. II. p. 381.

is necessary; they possess sufficient talent and ability to appeal to people successfully with base motives in mind; but they are unwilling to study God's Word, to purify their own lives, and to exert themselves sufficiently to preach Christ.

"Thei techen opynly fabyls, cronyclis, and lesyngis, and leven Cristis gospel and the maundementis of God" (1). They do not preach the Word of God, but "gesta poemata vel fabulas extra corpus Scripturae" (2). And of the monks he says, "et tota Sollicitudo est eorum, non verba evangelica ^a soluti ~~solati~~ subditorum utilia seminare, sed fraudes, joca, mendacia, per quae possunt populum facilius spoilare" (3). The stories of the monks and clerks were usually racy and the subject of much mirth, and whether in the pulpit or out of it, the preacher was expected to be a finished raconteur (4).

The uses made of these stories, tales, and chronicles were many: they were always available to fill gaps in sermons; they often composed the body of a sermon, after the Scriptural setting had been indicated; indeed, they sometimes formed the entire sermon, and one instance is cited in which the noted Stephen Langton chose for a text an old French dancing song and applied by allegory its praises of the heroine to the virgin Mary (5). Knowing well an Englishman's appreciation of a story well told, the subtle friars spun out long and fascinating stories connected with the life of some saint, feeling

1. Matthew Op. Cit. p. 16

2. Latin Sermons. fol. 208

3. De Offic. Past. p. 37

4. See Chaucer's "Court Tales"

5. Lechler. Op. Cit. p. 128

no inhibition concerning probabilities or even possibilities.

Wyclif threw all his influence with the third class, those who preached the plain Gospel. He says, "We hold this manere good .. to leave sich wordis, and triste in God, and telle sureli his lawe and speciali his gospels " (1). The popularity of the Poor Preachers is an evidence of the wisdom of his conclusion. It is by no means certain that he was responsible for Lollardry: attempts to connect him with it have been unsuccessful; yet it is true that the Lollards drew from his store of practical theology and pedagogics sufficient to make them an important, though ill-fated, factor in the life of the next generation after him.

He considered sincere preaching the most important of all the forms of worship. The sacraments might be omitted and yet men be saved (2); even "praying is gode, but not do gode as prechyng"(3). Prelates are more obligated to preach than to say matins, Mass, even song, and all the other ritual exercises, because this is the commandment of Christ both before and after his death (4). In fact, Jesus Christ occupied himself for the most part in preaching and neglected other things (5). He insisted that there was only one thing to be preached - the Word of God. It is the bread of men's souls and is indispensable in Christian living. It has the ^{ca}form of regeneration (habet vim regenerationem) (6). Christian men may not live spiritually (gostli) but by God's Word (7); because, he says, "Science of God fedith men wel, and other

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| 1. Arnold. S. E. W. I. p. 332. | 5. Arnold. S.E.W. III. p. 144 |
| 2. De Eccl. p. 467 | 6. Miss. Sermones No. 8. |
| 3. Arnold S. E. W. III p. 144 | 7. Matthew. Eng. Works p. 56 |
| 4. Matthew. Eng. Works p. 16 | |

science is mete for hoggis, and maketh men fat here but not aftir domesdai" (1). He insisted that preachers use the historic background of the Gospel, that men might understand understand the Old and New Testaments, and the faith in the years since their time.

To one of such deep convictions flattery and falseness were particularly repulsive. It was a fact that the friars and priests tempered the Word of God to suit the consciences and practices of their hearers, that they might obtain alms and retain their positions. For this Wyclif had only condemnation. They dare not, he says, reprove men of open sin by the frank words of the Gospel for fear of displeasing their masters and losing their livings. Many of them say, "I will not displease him of whom I have my living". "Ye blind fools", he retorts, "dread ye more to love a morsel of meat than a point of Charity?" (2). The temptation for a priest, retained by a lord, to preach what was politic was very great, and for every Latimer or Knox there would be thousands of others who made discretion their motto.

It was inevitable that views such as these should exert a wide influence. At once there sprang up the Lollards, copying Wyclif's style with perhaps even more enthusiasm than he himself manifested, if with less love and sympathy. Today the Roman church emphasizes the sermon not so much as Protestantism, but sincerely, none the less. And Christendom has profited by Wyclif's homiletical maxims, timeworn but true: exposition of God's Word; purity of language; humanity of purpose; and sympathy and directness of style.

1. Arnold. S. E. W. II. p. 71. 2. Matthew. Eng. Works. p. 171.

SACRAMENTS

Possessing, as we do, a fairly complete chronological outline of Wyclif's life, it is possible to mark the entrance of new ideas and the modifications of previous opinions with some degree of certainty. In the present case, which concerns his opinions regarding the sacraments, it would seem that his experience bears out what has been said regarding Ockham, and what has been true of many other reformers & that questionings and modifications of current sacramental ideas were undertaken after all the other general critical theory had been developed.

In the biographical sketch it was stated that his important writings about the Eucharist, transubstantiation, and practically all the other sacraments were produced within the last five years of his life. Either in the Summer of 1379 or 1380 (1) Wyclif openly attacked the current doctrine of the Eucharist in his lectures at Oxford. It seems, from a study of his works, arranged as nearly as possible in order, that Wyclif's views in this matter had undergone considerable modification. Regarding the Eucharist he had said at an earlier date, possibly in 1367, " It seems therefore sufficient for a Christian to believe that the body of Christ is present in a certain spiritual and sacramental manner at every point in the consecrated host, and that after God honor ought to be shown to that body; and then to that sensible sacrament even as to the image or tomb of Christ"(2). In a later sermon he

1. Principal Workman prefers the former, Mr. Matthew the latter.
2. From a MS extract quoted by Mr. Matthew.

states that he "sought to learn of the friars what the true essence of the consecrated host was"(1).

Of course the problem, even for a metaphysician, was most difficult. The assumed harmonious union of the body of Christ and the sacramental bread was not easily explained. The difficulty arose when one attempted to describe what happened to the bread and wine when the body and blood of Christ took possession of it. It is not sufficient to say that the whiteness, roundness, etc, of the host are but appearances or accidents, for there cannot well be appearances without something to cause the appearance. Even Thomas Aquinas could not explain what occurred to the bread after it was consecrated. He denied that it was annihilated because it became the body of Christ. His "quantity" idea accounted for the visible remainder, but could not explain the nature or condition of that part of the bread which was independent, according to his theory, of the accidents, and which must therefore have been the most important part of the bread, since it was into the place of this that the body of Christ entered.

Then, as yet, there was much confusion and obscurity in discussing transubstantiation. It deals with processes that are subtle and complex and there was doubtless much elemental if not erroneous teaching regarding it. The monks - whom one really should not expect to be metaphysicians - had not advanced in comprehension of it beyond the subject-accident stage, and were ignorantly involving in contradictions and heresies in their teachings. Wyclif loses patience with them entirely,

1. Serm. II. 454, 460, etc.

realizing that they are not even aware of the involved processes of thought necessary to understand the explanation of Thomas Aquinas or Duns Scotus. Therefore it became necessary for Wyclif to attack in opposite directions, or, as the case may be, to defend himself from attacks in both front and rear, aiming his criticisms at Duns, Aquinas, and other theologians, and replying to the unreasoned and destructive assertions of the friars.

It is apparent, therefore, that Wyclif did not discover the problem of transubstantiation - and through it the other sacramental problems - and then undertake a theological analysis of it; rather he found his philosophical processes and his theory of real universals bringing him unavoidably face to face with it. It was indeed fortunate that he was one of the most profoundly learned men of any generation and that his previous experience had been both general and specialized, for the pitfalls lurking in such a discussion were almost beyond the power of man's ingenuity to avoid them. Even then it is apparent that for quite a long time Wyclif was involved in difficulties about Aquinas's "quantity", and his own "mathematical body" conceptions of the bread. He finally set his feet on the solid ground that there can be no accidents, quantity, subsistence, or other appearance or expression, without a subject.

Even then Wyclif does not in his sermons - as might be expected - reveal the metaphysical processes that underlie his pronouncements in the matter, any more than an astronomer, when asked what the hour of the day is, proffers a demonstra-

tion of the use of his charts, data sheets, and intricate instruments to the untechnical questioner. However, Wyclif does not always, in replying, meet the question fairly. For, when he says that the consecrated host is both the body of Christ and the bread, he is merely stating what was the accepted view. The difficulty began when one tried to explain what is meant by the statement. When one discovers that Wyclif's theory of the presence of Christ in the sacrament rests on two statements - that the sacrament is true bread and true wine, on the one hand, and yet the body and blood of Christ - one may dismiss the first statement as squaring with the commonly accepted Protestant sacramental theory. But that "the sacrament" is the body and blood of Christ" presents all the old difficulties, and one must attempt to find Wyclif's real meaning.

Again he is fortunate - or sensible - in the manner he builds upon New Testament statements in the arguments of the "Dialogus", "Trialogus", and "De Sacramento Altaris", as well as in his other works. Moreover he uses some happy figures to illustrate his meaning: A man when raised to the dignity of lordship or prelacy does not cease to be the same man; so the bread, when by virtue of the sacramental words it becomes the body of Christ does not cease to be bread (1). Again, he guards himself against any theory of impanation: "Right so as the persoun of Crist is verrey God and verrey mon, verrey Godhed and verrey monhed, right so the same sacrament is verrey God's body and verrey bred"(2). It will be apparent

1. Trialogus Book IV. Cap. 4
2. Arnold. S.E.W. III. P. 502

that throughout any such discussion a disputant might have betrayed heresy, either in saying that Christ's true body was absent, in which case the Church authorities must be reckoned with; or in saying that the bread was in reality absent or was present only as an accident, which is a repetition of the ancient Docetic heresy.

Wyclif taught that " the bread is the figure of Christ's body" (3). And again, that there are three methods of predication: formal, essential, and figurative. The thing of the subject is ordained by God to be the thing of the object, and after this manner the sacramental bread is the (figurative) body of Christ (4). In a substantial, corporeal, and local manner, the body of Christ is not in the sacrament but in heaven. The body of Christ does not descend to enter into the host when it is being consecrated, but remains above in the heavens, and has only a spiritual existence in the host (5). Christ is "sacramentally" present in the glorified body and we see this body of Christ in the host with the eye of faith. " And he etith betere Goddis bodi, that hath bileve an this good love, than he that etith this sacrament and failith more in this spiritual mete. And herefore seyn Austyn, Bileve and thou hast eten. And here mai we se, that men that gon to Chirche, and kissen pileris, and heeren aftir many massis, and han with this an unclene hebbe, eten not of yvel Goddis bodi as thei taken yvel his sacrament". Finally Wyclif summarizes his statement thus: "hoc sacramentum venerabile est in natura sua verus panis et sacramentaliter corpus Christi"; or " Sacramentum altaris est corpus Christi in forma panis" (6).

3. Trialogus IV. C.7

4. Ibid. c. 7

5. Ibid. C. 8

6. Ibid c. 5.

Wyclif's teaching may be discovered by noting the condemnation of the Synod of Blackfriars. Relative to the Eucharist, these are taken from the list of twenty-four which were condemned at that time:

1. That the substance of material bread and wine remains in the sacrament of the altar after consecration.
2. Moreover, that the accidents do not remain without the subject after consecration in this same sacrament
3. Moreover, that Christ is not in the sacrament of the altar identically, truly, and really in his proper bodily presence.
4. That it hath no foundation in Gospel that Christ hath ordained the mass. (1).

In the Summer of 1381 Wyclif published twelve theses setting forth his views upon the Eucharist, and he undertook, as Martin Luther a century and a half later, to defend them. So far as we can discover no disputation resulted; but the hierarchy was now fully roused, and Wyclif's privileges were constantly more restricted, and his teachings watched more suspiciously. The theses follow:

1. The consecrated host we see on the altar is not Christ, neither is it any part of him, but an efficacious sign of him.
2. No pilgrim has ability to see Christ in the consecrated host by human eyesight, but by faith.
3. Formerly it was the faith of the Roman Church, in the confession of Berengarius, that the bread and wine which remain after the blessing are the consecrated host.
4. The Eucharist contains, by virtue of the words of the sacrament, both body and blood of Christ truly and really at every point.
5. Transubstantiation, identification, and impanation, used by those naming the signs related to matters of the Eucharist, are not founded upon Scripture.

6. It is repugnant to the opinion of the saints to assert that in the true host there is an accident without a subject.
7. The sacrament of the Eucharist is, in its own nature, bread and wine, having by virtue of the words of the sacrament the true body and blood of Christ at every point.
8. The sacrament of the Eucharist is in a figure the body and blood of Christ, into which the bread and wine are transubstantiated (?), of which something remains after the consecration although it is suffered to become unnoticeable in the mediation of the believers.
9. That an accident may exist without a subject is not firmly established; but if it is thus, God is annihilated and every article of the Christian faith perishes.
10. Every person or sect is exceedingly heretical which stubbornly contends that the sacrament of the altar is bread existing as itself, in nature more despicable and imperfect than horses' bread.
12. Wheat bread, with which alone it is permitted to perform the sacrament, is by nature vastly more perfect than bread from beans or bran, both of which in nature are more perfect than an accident.
(1).

Wyclif left his personal views concerning the Eucharist in yet another and perhaps a final form - that of a confession of faith. With a few pertinent sentences from it we close his teachings regarding the sacrament of the Eucharist:

"I bileve, as Crist and his apostels have taught us, that tho sacrament of tho auter, whyte and rounde, and like to other bred, or oost sacred, is verrey God's body in fourme of bred ... Ow! how gret diversyte is bytwene us that trowen that this sacrament is verrey bred in his kynde, and bytwene heretikes that tellen that hit is an accydent withouten sugett ... Crist amd his modir, that in grounde have destroyed alle herasies, kepe his kirke in right byleve of this scarament. And move we king and his reume to ask scharply of clerkis this office ..Ffor I am certen, for tho thridde part of clergye that deffendes this sentence that is here seyde, that thai wil deffende hit on payne of losing hor lyve. Amen. (2).

1. Shirley Fasc. Ziz. p. 105
2. Arnold. S. E. W. III. pp. 502-503.

Baptism.

Wyclif accepted the sacrament of Baptism with the same sort of qualification as he did the Eucharist - that the physical or external act was of small consequence without spiritual preparation and repentance as an anticipative qualification. "Bodily Baptism is of no consequence except there goes with it a washing from sin, original and actual by the Holy Spirit"(1). The sacrament has scriptural warrant, and presupposes instruction in the faith. The church permits believers to answer for an infant who has not yet attained to years of discretion. Pure water and no other liquid may be used and it matters not whether the baptized person is immersed once or thrice or the water poured on the head. Only let the ceremony be in accordance with the customs of the place. Whenever one is baptized, sin inherent in him is destroyed, and since such action requires satisfaction, which can only be obtained by the Atonement of Jesus Christ, therefore the baptism is into His death.

There are three forms of baptism: by water, by blood, and by fire. The first is by the material element, in the ordinary administration of the sacrament. The second is the washing wherewith the martyrs are cleansed, and Wyclif believed it applied to the slain "Innocents", who, not having reached the age of eight days, were not circumcized. The third is the baptism of the Holy Ghost, which is unseen, The other two forms are but external signs as compared with this. If the latter is lacking, the baptism by water and the martyr's death avail nothing. It would seem from this that a man might be

1 Trialogus IV. Caps 11-13 for this and following statements.

saved who was baptised only with the Holy Ghost, in this secret manner, and that therefore the Church's doctrine "Extra Ecclesiam non salus est" was not accepted by Wyclif. He says, in fact, that it would be presumptions for him to say that one was saved or damned merely by the external circumstances of his baptism. Anyone may administer the sacrament, even a dispised person or an old woman. The signs, aside from the Trinitarian formula, are not important, and matters of ritual depend for their efficacy upon the sealing by God's Spirit.

Confirmation

Except in the "Trialogus" Wyclif has left few evidences of his views of this sacrament. He seems to approve the current conceptions, as he quotes them, that: It has not sufficient Scriptural warrant; that it has been appropriated by the bishops; that the oil, and the linen cloth in which the head of the youth is bound are unwarranted and dangerous symbols, without authority in Scripture; moreover, it seems blasphemous to say that a bishop may endow with the Holy Spirit by the laying on of his hands. He admits that there is no logical way to reply to these criticisms, either by Scripture or reason. Since there is no direct authority, the act depends for justification upon its own efficacy. If it is profitable and beneficial, evidently the Holy Ghost is pleased to use it; if not, He has rejected it. It does not appear to Wyclif to be necessary for salvation, and has been introduced to give more solemnity ~~and indispensability~~ to the bishops.

Orders

The principles of this sacrament are set forth in the section above on "Government and Discipline". There is no need for repetition here. Wyclif did not accept it in the same sense as the Eucharist, and it is not indispensable.

Marriage

Wyclif entertained very great respect for marriage and does not hesitate to call it a sacrament - though in his ordinary acceptation of the term. In fact it exceeds in importance other sacraments (*excedit alia sacramenta*)(1). Perhaps, in these words, he is thinking of it as compared to Orders, confirmation, etc. In any case, he finds ample warrant for it in the Bible and in the nature of man (*naturale et ex ordinatione divina*). It is intended to keep pure the thoughts and desires of man. He says, "There ben three goodis in this oon sacrament: faith, children, and chastite". Or again, "This bodily matrimoyne is a sacrament and figure of the gostly wedlock bitwene Christ and holi Chirche" (2).

It should be entered with the consent of both parties, since it is a form of worshipping God. The contracting parties must exercise self control, and each must respect the desires of the other. Marriage of young men and old women is sinful. Many men sin greatly by debauching and deserting trusting women, who, when they are made common and bereft of friends, are without means of earning a living. Other men (hote and coragious) refuse to take a poor woman as their wife and make her one of their own station, but live with her in the Devil's

1. Trialogus IV. Cap. 20

2. Arnold S.E.W. III p.189

service, meanwhile waiting for a rich wife. This is great sin and injustice (1). He cites three failings most commonly found in married people: (a) they care more for the temporal success than the spiritual welfare of their children; (b) wives waste their husband's ^{means} on friars and whoremongers; (c) parents, especially mothers, cry out against God when He takes their children out of this world "bi fair deeth". "It is gret mercy of God to take a child out of this world, for if it shal be saaf it is delyverid out of woo unto blisse; if it shal be dampnyd yet it is mercy of God to take hym soone to deth lest it lyve lengere, and do more synne and therefore be in more peyne" (2).

Wyclif is opposed to divorce. There have sprung up many grounds for it, according to his statements, and friars and false clergy have lent their influence to the practices. But, nevertheless, the wedded are one flesh. In the case of transgression of the Scriptures~~a~~ demand for purity, the couple may separate, but they are free to do no more~~e~~ than that, and subsequent remarriage is for~~b~~idden.(3).

Penance

Under the heading of this sacrament are grouped four things about which Wyclif had a great deal to say. They are Penance, Absolution, Confession, and Indulgence. According to general belief penance had three parts: contrition of heart, confession with the mouth, and satisfaction by deeds(4). Evidently confession belongs to the second group; and penance,

1. Arnold S. E. W. III. p. 191 3. Trialogus IV. Cap 21
 2. Ibid. pp. 198-199. 4. Ibid. Cap 23

(in the sense of satisfaction by works) Absolution, and Indulgence, belong to the third group.

Confession, Absolution, and Penance are referred to in the section above on "Discipline": there is therefore no need to repeat the substance of the remarks here. It is sufficient to remark that Wyclif did not accept Penance as a sacrament, and regretted the act of Innocent III that established it as such, since, according to that theory, all the dead from the time of Christ until Innocent III are lost.

Regarding the abuse of indulgences, one knows almost instinctively what Wyclif will say. He cites some amazing abuses, of which one will suffice : One, Pope Clement, (evidently the anti-pope of that name) invented a new form of prayer. In order to confirm its use he granted, at the bidding of the King of France, to each man that is contrite two thousand years of indulgence from the pain of purgatory for each repetition. "So men neden not to go to Rome to gete hem plein indulgence, sith a man mai gete here indulgence for mony thousand yeer aftir domesday, sith he may geten in half a day a hundrid thousand yeer and more.(1).

Extreme Unction

No sufficient warrant for this sacrament is found in the Scripture passage cited in its support (James, V). The apostle may have been referring to any illness, and have advocated the use of oil as a medicinal aid, since the custom of such use is common in that country. If it had been a sacrament, Christ and the apostles would have done more

towards publishing the fact. Many have been anointed who have been fated to die unsaved, for a priest's prayers will not save a man in the last moments of life; otherwise men might all be saved by living dissolutely and receive at the end the sacrament, accompanied by the prayers of a priest.

IN concluding, we come by induction, as it were, to Wyclif's idea of a sacrament. He gives a progressive definition: First, that it is a sign. But this statement is too broad, since every created thing is a sign of the Creator, just as smoke is a sign of fire. God is a sign of everything, since he is the Book of Life. Second, a sacrament is a sign of a holy thing. But this also is too broad a definition, for the same reason that every creature thus becomes a sacrament of the Creator, who is holy. Third, a sacrament is a visible sign of an invisible grace. This last definition subsequent Protestant thought has been unable to improve in substance or metaphysical accuracy; whatever modifications creeds and councils have perpetuated have been on the aspect of Scriptural elaboration.

It was a question for Wyclif how many sacraments there were. He felt that seven did not include them. Antichrist has overlooked many others; e.g. the seven works of spiritual mercy, which should, in the estimation of many believers, be a sacrament. But, because the latter had no temporary and financial prospects attached to it, there was no enthusiastic welcome of it on the part of the Church. Certainly Wyclif regarded the Lord's Supper and Baptism as different from the

others, for which he denied Scriptural warrant.

Wyclif's theory of the sacraments is closely associated with his theory of the Church. He was dissatisfied with the conception of a sacrament as exerting a saving efficacy in itself, because he felt that the character of the recipient and the administrator enter into the relationship, the latter very slightly. He refused to consider sacraments as medicinal or mechanical; rather, he affirmed that they "realiter conferre gratiam" when "rite administrato". The sin of an administrator would not render ineffective the sacraments administered by him. The sin would damn the unworthy priest; but Wyclif saw that it would confer too much authority and power upon the Church to consider the efficacy of the sacraments dependent upon the character of a priest. The efficacy of a sacrament to the recipient depend upon no intermediary, but only upon the condition of the communicant. Thus deftly and logically he unites the theory of the Universal Priesthood of Believers with a theory of the sacraments in which only two were concerned: God, in whose honor and for whose blessing the sacrament was received; and the penitent, purified sinner who received it. And thus did Wyclif exclude the Roman Church from her last point of vantage. What wonder the hierarchy and its servants have continuously since cursed his memory, and reviled his works!

THE CHURCH AND THE STATE

Nowhere do Wyclif's experience and versatility appear to greater advantage than in his discussion of the relation of the Church to the State. Not only was he able to express his ideas in definite theories, but he was enlisted by the State to indicate particular lines of action which it should pursue in its conflict with the Papacy. While Wyclif was essentially a schoolman and out of immediate touch with political influences - not necessarily "luridly luminous, heretically vaporous, the great Nebula itself in the constellation of Lucifer" because he happened to be Master of Balliol, as Professor Hearnshaw would have us believe - yet he exerted much direct influence on the affairs of the State, surpassed in this respect perhaps only by John Calvin and John Knox. His is different from the sort of aid Ockham gave Lewis the Bavarian, because, in Wyclif's case, the issues involved were not personal and between the sovereign and the Pope, but were between the King and Parliament, on the one hand, and the representatives of Rome in England, on the other.

An evidence of the confidence Wyclif enjoyed in political matters may be seen in his inclusion in the commission appointed by the king to confer with France and with the Pope at Bruges. As a member of that commission Wyclif went to the Continent and carried out his part in the negotiations, from which, as has been seen, no great good resulted. However, he probably became closely acquainted with John of Gaunt, the

Duke of Lancaster, at this time - an acquaintance and attachment which were terminated only by the Peasants' Revolt and his own doctrine of the sacraments.

On October 20, 1378, Wyclif was requested to represent the civil government in the matter of violation of the right of sanctuary of Westminster by two civilians, Haulay and Shakyl, who, it was contended had fled there for safety from Parliament under circumstances which did not warrant the use of sanctuary. Shakyl was enticed out of the Church precincts and arrested, but Haulay would not leave and, in the scuffle that ensued with the soldiers sent for him, was slain in the building. The matter at once had taken the form of a struggle between the Church and the State. Wyclif incorporated his argument in the "De Ecclesia", evidently believing the incident of considerable importance. The outcome of the trial is not known, but was probably terminated in some such fashion as that neither the State nor the Pope was humiliated. It seems that though the right of Parliament to ignore sanctuary was sustained in this case, yet the ultimate right was left unsettled, and sanctuary for many crimes was enjoyed until Henry VIII abolished it in 1540.

Wyclif's arguments - which most concern us here - are noteworthy. He maintained, on the strength of Old Testament authority, that the action of the State was permissible, and asserted that the law of the State must be supreme in every case where it did not conflict with Divine Law. It was absurd, he said, to seek to maintain such a right as that demanded by the cathedral, since an invading army might take refuge with-

in the limits of its precincts and be free from molestation. Further, the Church exceeded its authority in excommunicating those who were obeying the just commands of the State. He insisted that truth should be accorded a higher place in civil affairs, and that excommunication, with its implied damnation of the souls of men, was worse than murder (1).

When the opposition to Wyclif had, in 1382, taken definite form, and the net seemed to be closing about him, he once again allied himself with Parliament and the King by a petition and complaint addressed that same year, the first to Parliament, the latter to King Richard. In the petition he laid down certain principles governing the relation of the English State and the hierarchy. In general, they are as follows: a. The State owed no obedience to Rome unless the necessity of such obedience could be proved from Scripture; b. The payment of tribute to Rome should likewise be conditioned by Scriptural authority; c. The Statute of Provisors should be strictly enforced; d. The king should deprive any unworthy prelate of his benefice; e. Ecclesiastics should not be employed in civil affairs; f. Excommunication should not be recognized by the State unless supported in each instance by Scriptural authority (2).

Many reasons have been advanced for Wyclif's escape from the vengeance of the Church during his lifetime. Doubtless many circumstances combined to make possible the immunity: the Great Schism, the death of Edward III, the death of Gregory XI, the archbishop's murder in the Peasant Revolt, the

1. See "De Ecclesia". Caps VII - XII. pp. 142-274

2. De Blasphemia. pp. 270 ff.

friendship of the Duke of Lancaster, and Wyclif's own illness. But one cannot help feeling that, aside from the conflict of Lancaster with the citizenry of London - which really tended to Wyclif's advantage - Wyclif enjoyed considerable personal popularity, and that his worth was appreciated by those who were opposing Papal intrusion in the affairs of England.

The grounds for Wyclif's opposition as stated above are more or less pragmatic; but not so are the reasons upon which the opinions are founded. Few, if any, more technical and carefully elaborated logical processes may be found in literature than Wyclif's theories of "Dominion", both "Civil" and "Divine". Naturally no adequate summary can be expected in these few pages of their principles and arguments. The writer has undertaken to indicate but a few of the more evident ones from the "De Dominio Civili". And in attempting them it should be remembered that it is difficult to excise from a closely related argument sections that will be at all typical of the main body of thought.

Wyclif's doctrine of Civil Dominion usually assumes an identification of government and property or possession; so that when he speaks of "Dominion", it is usually in this dual sense.

If a man is ultimately bad, everything he does is bad, because a sinner acts and possesses only in the manner in which he is. Mortal sin, since it affects his nature, affects every accident or mode of expression of the individual. If a man's life is lived unjustly, all his actions and relations with other man must be unjust, since he cannot do otherwise

than as he is. Therefore injustice can be assumed of every act of his (In support of this Wyclif cites Scripture and Augustine's doctrines : a. that sin or evil has no real existence, and so sinners can exercise no real dominion; and b. that the motive determines the nature of the act: therefore civil justice must rest on divine justice, and civil rights upon divine or natural rights). Therefore a sinner possesses and exercises dominion only in the manner in which he at the time is. And, therefore, if a man is naturally and ultimately bad everything he does is bad.

Therefore no man who dwells in mortal sin, or is one of the "presciti" has any fair or inherent right to the gifts of God. On the other hand, and by similar processes of reasoning, one who is predestinated and in a state of grace, not only has a claim upon, but really possesses, all the gifts of God.

Moreover, works, although they may be in themselves good, are incapable of being considered good, on the grounds stated above that that no work, except when done from motives of highest and purest purpose, may be considered to be good. Therefore the good acts of one in sin or one not qualified to possess God's gifts and rule them cannot change the status of the sinner. He may have the temporary use of possessions or power by a grant of God, but not by a gift of God.

Moreover, the righteous man possesses or governs not only 'de jure' but also 'de facto'. The former he exercises because he is by adoption a son of God; the latter, because God gives to his own the Holy Spirit, which carries with it

absolute dominion. Obviously, in some senses, the righteous are in only partial possession of this right, having been temporarily dispossessed of it by the sinful, who have violently obtained and are exercising temporal authority. However, this is only temporary, and in God's own time the religious will come into full possession of their own.

It has been indicated that Civil Dominion and the right of Private Property were generally identified. Both have been made necessary by the Fall of man. However, conditions as they are lay upon man the necessity of Christian Charity, and in obtaining the objective of original communism, regard must be had for the present situation and limitations of mankind.

Without pausing to develop the idea, it may be stated that Wyclif taught that goods must be, in the ideal condition, held in common. He has no hesitation whatever in asserting this, reserving only wives as individual possessions. However, he did not suggest that a reorganization of the State should be undertaken on communistic lines. In fact, he specifically guards himself, when discussing this subject, by asserting that in putting such a law into operation due consideration would have to be given to the organizations of the State and society as they now exist. However, the above doctrines seemed to him to follow from logical premises and from Scripture.

Every Christian, therefore, has a lordship based, not upon essentially civil, but upon evangelical right. Kings are called to rule in temporal things, and conformably to civil laws, and spiritual rulers are called to rule in spiritual

things, subject to the restrictions of the spiritual laws. Prelates are indeed kings, but in spiritual not temporal things; but, for that matter, all Christians are kings. The secret of kingship, in both temporal and spiritual things, is the being in possession of "grace".

The temporal power may lawfully take away from any ecclesiastical person or organization its property, if it be found abusing the rights of such a possession. Every Christian is bound to assist in taking temporal power from ecclesiastics, if the retention is contrary to God's law. A civil officer is especially bound to do this, in view of his additional obligation to the people. It lies in the king's power to examine and amend the law of the State, and the state of his realm, and it is evasive to argue that the laity are incompetent to examine the failure of prelates, popes, or priests, because it is plainly the duty of the laity to complain of the absence of spiritual ministrations on the part of the Church, if such exist. And no gain can accrue to the Church Universal which springs from an injury or spoliation of our own Church.

Wyclif is aware that the Church would not hesitate to attempt to deal summarily with any such beliefs and practices as these, and it might consequently be expected that one holding such beliefs would be promptly excommunicated; therefore he concludes by fortifying the hearts of men against excommunication. However, the views have been set forth elsewhere in the present thesis.

Quite evidently the Church and the State, to Wyclif, rule each in its own Divine right, unhindered by the other.

GENERAL ESTIMATE

Perhaps no final estimate of the worth of Wyclif's contribution to the evolution of the Church should be undertaken without burning a candle at the shrine of scholarship revealed in a recent critical estimate of Wyclif by Professor Hearnshaw, the eminent mediaevalist of London. After an exhaustive discussion of Wyclif, covering at least twenty-eight pages, he utilizes three more in summarizing his observations. These are a few samples of his estimate:

"Wyclif was not a religious man at all. This, I submit, is also the opinion of the Christian world - the Catholic section of it explicitly: the Protestant section tacitly". "Two separate Wycliffe Societies" (1844 and 1884) have already languished in the effort to get people to read, or even to buy, the soulless stuff he wrote. Much of it, after five centuries, is still unprinted, and (probably to no one's loss) likely to remain so". "He seems to have had no religious experience; no sense of sin; no consciousness of conversion". "He was anti-papal, anti-clerical, anti-monastic, anti-sacramental, all but anti-Christian". "He was merely negative and destructive. His Bible was but a weapon of offence". "His Poor Priests were not evangelists but revolutionary agitators".

(1)
Having read the Professor's estimate, one feels about as hopeful and enthusiastic concerning Wyclif's contribution to the theory of the Church in England, as the conscience-stricken Claudius, fearful of Hamlet and despairing of heaven,

felt about his absolution, when he said, "All may be well". However, time will doubtless reveal the pathological cause for the above tirade, and possibly account for the violation of historic instinct and prostitution of scholarly procedure involved. The present writer has no desire to offer any of the many perfectly obvious replies available. Exception is taken, not alone because of his groundless assumptions and fallacious conclusions, but because he is typical of a certain type of writer who ~~has~~ willed not to see any good in Wyclif, and consistently adheres to that resolution.

Above all likes and dislikes of his personality, in John Wyclif there stood one who, although yet partially obscured in the mists of mediaevalism, was nevertheless able and willing to point spiritual pilgrims to the truth of that later age when the mists had melted in the clear day of the Reformation. He gave to the world a theory of the Church that was idealistic and self-consistent; that claimed as its sole and infallible authority the Holy Bible; that demanded consistency in profession and practice of all its members, from the Pope to the meanest slave; that stripped the accretions of pagan magic from the Christian sacraments, and restored to them their spiritual signification and efficacy; that re-introduced a gospel of sacrifice and humility to an organization drunk with autocratic power; and that gave every earnest Christian man a spiritual warrant for the faithful execution of his daily tasks, whether in Church or State.

V.

THOMAS CRANMER

With the consent of the advisers of the present work, it has seemed best to depart from the plan of discussion followed in the instances of Ockham and Wyclif, and to give but very limited space to a study of the views of Archbishop Cranmer regarding the theory and doctrine of the Church in England.

Two considerations suggest this variation: first, because of the comparative lateness of his age, the general knowledge of him, his work, and his times is greater than in the case of either of the others; therefore, there is not the same necessity to discuss exhaustively every phase of his teaching. Second, even so condensed a statement of the significant teachings of Ockham and Wyclif as has been necessary above has already extended the present thesis considerably beyond the limits usually assigned to such a work.

It is felt, however, that no survey of the evolution of the theory and doctrine of the Church in England would be complete unless that evolution were traced to the Reformation. No biographical sketch of Cranmer will be offered, and his teachings will be briefly summarized under three headings: the Church, including his views of its Nature, Government, Worship, and Authority in it; The Sacraments and the Church and the State, or the Church in relation to Royal Supremacy.

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NATURE OF THE CHURCH

Few, if any, of the men who assisted Henry VIII in winning independence for the Church in England foresaw so clearly as Cranmer the full implications of the conflict with the Papacy. Whatever opinion one may form of his statesmanship and his character as a leader of men, his profound scholarship and complete familiarity with the history of the Church convince one that he fully understood and appreciated the issues involved. Aside from the unfortunate events of the days immediately preceding his martyrdom, Cranmer evinced a thorough knowledge of what must be done to effect a reformation and the steps necessary to accomplish it, and, on the other hand, an unusually humble and charitable spirit in all the efforts expended in obtaining and defending it.

It should be remembered that the reformation in which he was engaged differed greatly from Wyclif's. In Cranmer's case and by his time the stage of solely destructive criticism of the Roman Church had long been passed. In fact, the general situation was reversed, and Cranmer found himself forced, on the one hand, to define and prescribe doctrine and practices for a Church as yet incompletely conceived and organized, and, on the other hand, to ^{defend} this Church and its practices against the criticisms of the dispossessed papists. A brief survey of his writings will reveal a predominance of the apologetic element. These were subjected to most careful scrutiny by his

opponents, and he was constantly compelled to combat reactions in favor of things "as they were". At least eight of the fifteen Articles of the Rebels of Devonshire and Cornwall (1549) express a preference for former conditions, and men, like bishop Gardiner, of Winchester, were constantly assailing tenets and practices of the new Church.

Furthermore, the newly established Church was seriously handicapped by internal dissention. Its greatest need was intelligent and sympathetic preaching. Cranmer found his small group who understood and believed in the reformation quite insufficient in number to put before the people the principles of the new Church, with the result that some lost interest and returned to the Roman faith, others were misinformed about, and prejudiced against, the new Church, and yet others were inspired to a form of fanatical propaganda in its favor which was more injurious than an equal amount of open opposition would have been. Moreover, the clergy who sympathized with Rome submitted publicly to the acts of Supremacy and Uniformity, but privately maintained their former views, and in some cases so mumbled and garbled the services that they were accused of using the former Latin service instead.

Moreover, it should be remembered that a violent rupture with Rome could not have been permitted in view of the consequences that might have attended it in the nation. Henry VIII and Cranmer were obliged to exercise great caution lest the country be plunged into civil war and thus subjected to conquest by papist governments of the Continent. A number of rebellions were quelled before they assumed dangerous propor-

tions; but it was always impolitic to attempt to punish unnecessarily the supporters of the papacy. That Cranmer was able to effect so many changes as he did in government and liturgy of the Church is an evidence of his tact and reasonableness.

Therefore one might say that the first requirement of Cranmer's theory of the Church was that it must be a working theory. Its theological ideas had to undergo microscopic examination by men possibly not so well educated as he, but with a considerable following and with a decided flair for leadership. Cranmer was compelled to defend himself against allegations that he was seeking to establish Lutheranism, that he was reviving former heresies, that his theories were inconsistent, and that he was insincere and unscrupulous in his efforts. He found it necessary to demonstrate his own sincerity, defend himself against counter-plots in the Council (in which Henry VIII and Edward VI faithfully supported him), restate matters of dogma, fix upon a form of Church government and establish it, and prepare a new liturgy for public worship - no mean task, even for one of the ability of Cranmer.

He was driven early to an antagonism for Rome that included spiritual as well as temporal things. From his acquaintance with the writings of the Church Fathers, he believed that the Church for the past five hundred years had been passing through a period when the Devil had been loosed upon the world. In his mind the bishop of Rome was antichrist, and as such had proved the impossibility of uniting all the

churches of Christendom under one headship. He rather believed that the various groups of dissenting Christians, or Protestants, should be united in one communion, in which each national or individual body should adapt and retain its own formularies and practices. To that end he made overtures to Geneva, Zurich, Strassburg, and Wittenberg, attempting to bring together the leaders of the Reformation for conference.

To John a Lasco he wrote: ..."*cupimus nostris ecclesiis veram et Deo doctrinam proponere, nec volumus cothurnos facere aut ambiguitatibus ludere; sed semota omni prudentia carnis, veram, perspicuam, sacrum literarum normae convenientem doctrinae formam ad posteros transmittere; ut et apud omnes gentes exstet illustre testimonium de doctrina nostra, gravi doctorum et piorum auctoritate traditum, et universa posteritas normam habeat quam sequatur*" (1). To Hardenberg, head of the Reformed Church at Bremen, he wrote urging him to use his personal influence to persuade Melancthon to be present at the conference planned. The reason given to Hardenberg, in addition to the above which is repeated, was: "*cum videam nihil ab eo aut ipsi aut reipublicae vero posse fieri utilius, quam ut hoc tempore ad nos veniat, opto vehementius, teque oro, ut omnem curam cogitationemque tuam in hoc convertas, ut Philippum nostrum plane nostrum facias*" (2). To Bucer, after urging his presence and placing the good offices of an English merchant at his disposal to assure him a safe arrival, he writes in closing the letter: "*Deum aeternum Patrem Domini nostri Jesu Christi toto pectore oro, ut in ira misericordiae recordetur,*

1. Parker Soc. "Remains and Letters" pp. 420-421

2. Ibid p. 422

et afflictæ ecclesiæ calamitates respiciat, et lucem veræ doctrinæ apud nos magis magisque accendat" (1). To Melanchton he set forth the condition of the Church and urged that he join in the projected conference which he had previously advocated, urging Melanchton to pray "ut nos regat, et colligat inter nos perpetuam ecclesiam, non solum ex nostratibus, sed etiam ex peregrinis; id quod facere pro sua immensa misericordia jam incepit" (2). To Bullinger, at Zurich, "quemadmodum adversarii nostri nunc Tridenti habent sua concilia ad errores confirmandos, ita ejus pietas auxilium suum præbere digneretur, ut in Anglia, aut alibi, doctissimorum et optimorum virorum synodus convocaretur" (3). Finally to Calvin he wrote urging unity against Rome, especially in the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, not only as regards its nature, but also the form and manner of administering it. This sentence from the letter is noteworthy: "nihil efficacius ecclesias Dei congregat et potentius ovile Christi munit, quam incorrupta evangelii doctrina et dogmatum consensus" (4).

Cranmer's conception of the nature and practices of the visible Church is fairly evident from these letters. There were two Protestant conceptions of the Church at that time: first, that the visible Church is composed of men holding the doctrine of the Scriptures and living consecrated lives according to Scriptural guidance, and governing themselves according to the necessities of the time and place; or, second, that it is composed of men holding Scriptural doctrine and living as directed therein, but submitting themselves to the direction of the prince in spiritual matters. Cranmer held the latter

1. Ibid. p. 424
2. Ibid. p. 425

3. Ibid. p. 430
4. Ibid. p. 431

view, while most of the Continental reformers inclined to the former.

Cranmer insisted, however, on a distinction between Churches. One is "true, perfect, and holy in the sight of God, and another false, imperfect, and ungodly ... (the papista) are bold to affirm that no Church be the true Church of God, but that which standeth by the ordinary succession of bishops, in such pompous and glorious sort as is now seen, For if there be, they say, no such outward and visible Church, how shall any man know whether he be of the Church of Christ, and in the right belief, or no? ... But if we allow the pope, his cardinals, bishops, priests, monks, canons, friars, and the whole rabble of the clergy, to be this perfect Church of God, whose doings are clean contrary, for the most part, to the will and commandment of God, left and expressed in his Word written; then we make him (Christ) a sinner, and his Word of no effect But here they will ask, how shall a man know whether he be in the right faith, but by this Church? To this Christ shall make answer himself saying in the Gospel of John, "My sheep hear my voice, and shall not hear a stranger"... Seek it not, I say, at a proud, glorious, and wavering sort of bishops and priests; but at God's own mouth.." (1).

This holy Church is so unknown to the world that no man can discern it but God alone, "who only searcheth the hearts of all men, and knoweth his true children from others that be bastards.... But as for the open, known Church, and the outward face thereof, it is not the pillar of truth, otherwise than that it is, as it were, a registry or treasury to keep

1. Preface to "A confutation of Unwritten Verities"

the books of God's holy will and testament ... The holy Church of Christ is but a small herd or flock, in comparison to the great multitude of them that follow Satan and Antichrist. It (preseverance) is not so of the Church and see of Rome, which alloweth itself to be the holy catholic Church, and the bishop thereof to be the most holy of all other. For many years ago Satan hath so prevailed against that stinking whore of Babylon that her abominations be known to the whole world ... Although the papists have led innumerable peoples out of the right way, yet the Church is to be followed: but the Church of Christ, not antichrist; the Church that concerning the faith containeth itself within God's Word; the Church that, by the true interpretation of Scripture and good example, gathereth people unto Christ" (1).

Cranmer preferred to continue the episcopacy as the most desirable form of Church government, even in the face of the apparent inconsistency of discarding an episcopacy with the bishop of Rome for its head, for an episcopacy with the king as its head. Doubtless one of the motives was a desire to avoid unnecessary antagonism for the new religious principles he was seeking to establish. It is quite evident that he claimed no exclusive right for such an episcopacy. In connection with his theory of the so-called sacrament of orders, it may be noted that Cranmer's view was that Church government was subordinated to the will of the Prince. For instance, in answer to a list of questions propounded to him by Henry VIII, Cranmer closes the reply with these words: "This is mine opinion and sentence at this present, which nevertheless I do

1. "The Answer of Thomas, Archbishop of Canterbury, against the false calumniation of Dr. Richard Smith". Park Soc. I .

not temerarily define, but refer the judgment wholly unto your majesty" (1). Moreover, in all his defences and disputations he professed his willingness to act and believe according to the commandment of his sovereign.

But as regards the relation of bishops and priests, he answered as follows: "The bishops and priests were at one time, and were not two things, but both one office in the beginning of Christ's religion. A bishop may make a priest by the Scripture, and so may princes and governors also, and that by the authority of God committed to them and the people also by their election... There is no more promise of God, that grace is given in the committing of the ecclesiastical office than it is in the committing of the civil office"(2). It is evident from these statements that Cranmer gave the Church a form of government in which the duty of the cleric to the kingdom was placed second only to his faithfulness to Scripture.

As regards the use of Confession as a disciplinary measure, he removed at one stroke all possibility of that when he said, "A man is not bound by the authority of this 'quarum remisereitis' and such like to confess secret and deadly sins to a priest"(3); moreover, "a bishop or priest by the Scripture is neither commanded nor forbidden to excommunicate, but where the laws of any region giveth him authority to excommunicate, there they ought to use the same in such crimes as the laws have authority in; and when the

1. Parker Soc. Op. Cit. II p. 116. 2. Ibid. p. 117
2. Ibid. p. 116

laws of the region forbiddeth them, then they have none authority at all. And they also that be no priests may also excommunicate, if the law allow them thereunto"(1).

The sole authority in matters of faith is the Holy Scripture. Many instances of this view of Cranmer might be cited, but only two shall be referred to here. The first is a rather long tract on "Unwritten Verities", in the course of which he attacked the custom of the Papacy to consider as of equal importance with Scripture certain ideas, presumably originating from Scriptural sources, which were not included in the Canon of Scripture. These are a few of the things he thus attacked:

1. That Christ, after he had washed the feet of his disciples, taught them to make holy cream for the ministration of the sacraments.

2. That there is a tradition of the Apostles that images ought to be set up.

3. That the Apostles ordained that all faithful people should resort to the Church of Rome as the highest and principal Church.

4. That the Apostles' Creed - so-called - was made by the twelve Apostles, each Apostle contributing an article.

5. That people should pray facing the east.

6. That the Virgin Mary was not born in original sin.

7. That she was assumed into heaven, body and soul.

The Unwritten Verities are confuted in an argument of eleven chapters, in which recourse is had to the witness of Scripture to its own completeness, and to the teachings of the Fathers (2).

I. Ibid. p. 117.

2. Ibid. pp. 1-67; 514-516.

The second and final evidence of his regard for the authority of the Holy Scripture is the assurance with which he appeals to it, for instance, in the disputation held at Oxford, beginning April 14, 1554; or that before Brokes, the papal inquisitor, September 12, 1555; or his appeal at the time of his degradation, February 13, 1556. In every instance in which he refers to Scripture, it is with very evident positiveness and assurance. Cranmer's thorough knowledge of the Church Fathers and of Scholasticism made him a formidable opponent in disputation. But he did not transfer the final authority for his positions from Scripture to History or Reason.

With regard to the worship of the Church he established, there was certainly no one before Cranmer, and probably none since, who exerted so great an influence in preparing its formularies, and in revising and adapting Roman usages. In part his influence might be attributed to the fact that his position as Primate compelled him to take the initiative in such matters. But this only explains in part his efforts: for there is no doubt but that Cranmer had an aptness of thought and felicity of expression that fitted him to an extraordinary degree to prepare the Prayer Books and liturgies in such beauty of thought and style. The fact that for more than three hundred years much of his work suffered no revision or adaptation is evidence of his unique qualification for the task and of the importance of his work. Of course his own thorough knowledge of the Church Fathers and of the literature of the Church accounts for much of his

success in the matter. Moreover, he was a man of singular patience and equanimity of temper, so that there is none of that nervous, abrupt terseness so natural to persons of his position. Indeed his meekness and restraint were so marked that Weston, at the close of the disputation at Oxford thus addressed him: " Your wonderful gentle behavior and modesty, good Master D. Cranmer, is worthy much commendation; and that I may not deprive you of your right and just deserving I give you most hearty thanks in mine own name, and in the name of all my brethren'. At which saying all the doctors gently put off their caps" (1). Such spirit, joined to thorough knowledge, should indeed qualify one for the preparation of public prayer, homily, or sermon!

The difficulty of Cranmer's task in reforming worship may be judged from the articles of instruction he issued, which were to be followed in making visitations in the diocese of Canterbury. From a long list of things about which inquiry should be made we note the following: whether all vicars have preached at least four times in the year against the usurped power and pretended jurisdiction of Rome; whether they have declared the king's preeminence; whether any in any manner defend Rome; whether they pray each Sunday for peace between England and Scotland; whether all images, shrines, tables, candlesticks, rolls of War, pictures, etc, have been destroyed in churches, chapels, and homes; whether lights, other than two, are permitted upon the high altar; whether a Bible has been made available for reading in every church; whether men have been exhorted to read the Bible both in the

English and Latin; whether clergy drink, brawl or gamble; whether there is an accurate parish register kept; whether churches are kept in repair; whether clergy have used their influence against praying with beads, etc.; whether the clergy have the New Testament in both English and Latin, and the paraphrase of Erasmus on it; etc., etc. There are eighty-six separate articles in the list quoted from, and many of these have six or more subdivisions. Some idea may therefore be had of the difficulty of Cranmer's task of preventing adherence to Roman customs and of encouraging the use of the new formularies.

One somewhat singular practice seems to have become necessary with regard to preaching. Some of the clergy were not in sympathy with the reformation and were disinclined to preach against the Papacy. On the other hand, some were over-anxious and illy qualified for the task. Consequently it became necessary to prepare and distribute sermons to many of the clergy, and to require them to be read at specified times. However, there was even then a decided advance in preaching over the times of Wyclif.

These few observations will suffice to indicate the task that Archbishop Cranmer confronted in reorganizing the Church, and the spirit in which he approached the task. No man better qualified by education and temperament could have been found than Cranmer. Sound in his theology and conception of the Church, and firm in his insistence upon the authority of the Holy Scripture, he was able to meet, one by one, the problems of establishment and solve them in a spirit quite

free from personal animus or vindictiveness. If Henry VIII had followed the counsels of Cranmer more faithfully, and been less fickle in his personal attitude to the idea of the Reformation, it is quite likely that, even considering the oppositions and obstructions, the tragic reaction under "Bloody" Mary could have been avoided. As it was Cranmer prevented the adoption of extreme measures during his lifetime, and in his death reasserted his influence for peace, love, and faithful devotion to Protestant Ideals.

SACRAMENTS

By the time of Cranmer's death the Protestant theory of the sacraments had become clearly defined in the Church in England. This statement does not imply that there was agreement among Protestants regarding details of the theory; neither does it mean that the Roman theory had disappeared. But no longer was it necessary to contest every presupposition and lay anew every foundation, as Wyclif had been compelled to do. With the termination of the English Inquisition under Queen Mary and Cardinal Pole, there remained no longer any confusion as to what constituted the difference between the Protestant and Papist theories, for example, of the Lord's Supper. One who held that the body and blood of Christ were present in corporal form in the sacrament was at once known as a Romanist; likewise, one who guarded the manner of the presence by any such modification as "sacramentally" or "spiritually" was known at once as a Protestant.

No man of the sixteenth century in England exerted so much influence to bring this about as did Cranmer, and no man was more thoroughly qualified to assume the role of champion of reformation principles than he. While the immediate issue in the reformation of the Church in England was not sacramentalism, yet no abiding results could have been attained without a coincident reformation in this respect also. Cranmer was not slow to realize this, and the best efforts available

in his writings are concerned with making clear the sacramental aspect of the Reformation. No doubt he was impressed and influenced by his experiences on the Continent before being called to the see of Canterbury. In any case there is a progressive development or modification evident in Cranmer's own views, which led the Swiss reformers to suspect him of Lutheranism, and the Romanists to charge him with having taught at least three theories regarding the Lord's Supper.

It is difficult to make a selection of passages from Cranmer's writings illustrating his views of the sacraments, and especially of the Lord's Supper, because proponents of various types of sacramental theory have sought to confirm their own views by his words, and have doubtless read into his statements meanings he never dreamed of them containing. The Lutherans claimed, even during his lifetime, that his theory tended towards their party; the followers of Zwingli made a similar claim for themselves; and the latest book about him (1) maintains that he was neither Lutheran nor Zwinglian but rather a Suvermerian. The latter was the Lutheran name for the school of Bucer at Strassburg, which taught a spiritual presence of Christ in the sacrament, and a partaking by the communicant as follows: one eating and drinking worthily received the bread and wine in the mouth and the very body and blood of Christ in the soul. But in the case of the unworthy partaker, the bread and wine alone were received; the soul, because of its lack of faith, did not feed on the body and blood of Christ.

This theory is plainly somewhere between Lutheranism

1. C. H. Smyth - "Cranmer and the Reformation under Edward VI".

and Zwinglianism and could be maintained only by subtle reasoning. But neither Martin Bucer nor Cranmer was especially fitted for such a task, and as a consequence the view had no very outstanding defenders. Peter Martyr and Bucer were ultimately won over to Zwinglianism; but Cranmer, as nearly as can be ascertained, continued in the belief until his death. This will account for the answer he made when he was examined by Dr. Martin before the papal inquisitor, Brokes. Martin accused him of his belief in these words: "You, Master Cranmer, have taught in this high sacrament of the altar, three contrary doctrines". To this Cranmer retorted, "Nay, I taught but two contrary doctrines of the same"(1).

It has been asserted that Cranmer's publication in translation of Justus Jonas' "Catechism" revealed his Lutheran belief in the real presence; and especially in view of the statement made in his answer to "Smith's Preface", where he said, "I confess of myself that not long ago before I wrote the same Catechism, I was in that error of the real presence, as in many years past in divers other errors; as of transubstantiation, of the sacrifice propitiatory of the priests in the mass, of pilgrimages, purgatory, pardons, and many other superstitions and errors that came from Rome.... But after it had pleased God to shew unto me, by his holy Word, a more perfect knowledge of his son Jesus Christ, from time to time I grew in knowledge of him, by little and little I put away my former ignorance"(2).. But it does not follow from the above statements that on the way from a doctrine of the real presence to that of Suvermerianism Cranmer had to pass through

1. Park. Soc. II pp. 215-216. 2. Ibid. I. p. 374

a belief in consubstantiation. It seems more likely that after he gave up transubstantiation he held the mediaeval theory of impanation, that the body and blood of Christ are in the accidents of bread and wine but without any change of substance.

In any case the significant thing is that Cranmer ultimately believed, and caused the Church in England to profess, that transubstantiation was not only physically repulsive but also logically impossible and Scripturally unwarranted; and that one who partook of the elements of bread and wine received the body and blood of Christ spiritually, and then only if the recipient's heart was in accord with, and in obedience to, God.

The doctrine of Cranmer is set forth in its positive form in a treatise of 255 pages, entitled, "A defence of the true and catholick Doctrine of the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of our Savior". It is defended and restated in a work of 367 pages, entitled, "An Answer ... unto a craftie and sophisticall cauillation, deuised by Stephen Gardiner", and also in a tract entitled, "The Answer of Thomas archbishop of Canterbury against the false calumniationes of Doctor Richard Smith". Defensively he gave expression to his views in the disputations and examinations preceding his death, and in various letters in private correspondence.

There is little doubt but that, from this great amount of material, one desiring to do so could prove Cranmer a Romanist, a Lutheran, a Zwinglian, a Suvermerian, or almost any other sectarian he desired. No more can be done here

than indicate what seems to be the consistent trend of his teaching. Cranmer claimed for himself consistency in his teaching, and in his defense before Brokes stated: "As concerning the sacrament, I have taught no false doctrine of the sacrament of the altar; for if it can be proved by any doctor above a thousand years after Christ, that Christ's body is there really, I will give over. My book was made seven years ago, and no man hath brought any authors against it. I believe that whoso eateth and drinketh that sacrament, Christ is within them, whole Christ, his nativity, passion, resurrection and ascencion, but not that corporally that sitteth in heaven"(1). Again:

"Chedsey:- When Christ took bread and brake it, what gave he?

Cranmer:- He gave bread; the bread sacramentally and his body spiritually."

Weston intervened in the disputation, and the following dialogue ensued:

"Weston:- Ergo, his true, natural, and organical flesh is given to us to be eaten.

Cranmer:- I grant the consequence and the consequent.

Weston:- Therefore we eat it with our mouth.

Cranmer:- I deny it. We eat it through faith.

Weston:- He gave us that same flesh to eat, whereby he became our brother and kinsman.
But he became our brother and kinsman by his true, natural, and original flesh;
Therefore he gave his true, natural and organical flesh to be eaten.

Cranmer:- I grant that he took and gave the same true, natural, and organical flesh wherein he suffered; and yet he feedeth spiritually, and that flesh is received spiritually.

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Weston:- When Christ said "Eat ye", whether meant he by the mouth or by faith?

1. Ibid II. p. 213.

Cranmer:- He meant that we should receive the body by faith, and the bread by the mouth.

Weston:- Nay, the body by the mouth.

Cranmer:- That I deny. "

Cranmer, in his "Defence", asserted the views of the papists were as follows: " They will have all men bound to believe whatsoever they invent, upon peril of damnation and everlasting fire. And they would constrain with fire and faggot all men to consent, contrary to the manifest words of God, to these their errors in this matter of the holy sacrament of Christ's body and blood. First, that there remaineth no bread nor wine after the consecration; but that Christ's flesh and blood is made of them. Second, that Christ's body is really, corporally, substantially, sensibly, and naturally in the bread and wine. Thirdly, that wicked persons do eat and drink Christ's very body and blood. Fourthly, that priests offer Christ every day, and make of him a new sacrifice propitiatory for sin.

In various connections Cranmer^{what?} these statements. He denied transubstantiation, the first mentioned just above, and asserted that no Scripture, teaching of the Fathers or other authority could be found for it prior to about 1000 A.D. We shall not repeat his arguments again.

With regard to the second assertion above, Cranmer denied that Christ's body and blood are present in the sacrament in the form the Romanists asserted. "I marvel not a little", he said, "what eyes Doctor Smith had when he read over my book. It is like that he had some privy spectacles within his head, wherewith whensoever he looketh, he seeth but what

he list. For in my book I have written more than an hundred places, that we receive the self-same body of Christ that was born of the Virgin Mary, that was crucified and buried, that rose again the contention is only in the manner and form how we receive it"(1). He asserted that Christ's body is eaten "spiritually" or "sacramentally".

But before proceeding to Cranmer's attitude towards the third assertion above, it is well to note that he used language that was unnecessarily ambiguous and confusing. The distinctions he draws must have been real to him, because of the vehemence and consistency with which he repeats them; but to others they are most obscure. "We receive", he said, "Christ's own very natural body, but not naturally or corporally". Or again, "We receive the self-same body of Christ that was born of the Virgin Mary, etc. " It is indeed confusing and difficult for us to understand how one may eat a body spiritually, since it meant in this case eating something corporally present only in heaven. In Cranmer's greatest strength lay his greatest weakness: His knowledge of the early Church Fathers. He was misunderstood by men in his own day, and accused by each party of teaching the doctrines of the other, because he deliberately insisted upon using the language of the Church Fathers in a sense that was quite historical, but most misleading in an age when habits of thought and expression had changed. He himself explains it thus: "Where I use to speak sometimes (as the old authors do) that Christ is in the sacraments, I mean the same as they did understand the matter; that is to say, not of Christ's carnal presence in the outward sacrament, but sometimes of his sacramental presence"(2).

1. Ibid. II. P. 370.

2. Ibid. I. p. 3.

He denied, thirdly, that wicked persons eat and drink Christ's body and blood. We mention first a sentence that sounds very much like Wyclif's "leme of the fend": "It follows necessarily that ungodly persons, being limbs of the Devil, do not eat Christ's flesh or drink his blood"(1). Again, "Every good and faithful Christian man feeleth in himself how he feedeth of Christ, eating his flesh and drinking his blood. For he putteth the whole hope and trust of his redemption in that only sacrifice... this great benefit of Christ the faithful man earnestly considereth in his mind, cheweth and drinketh it with the stomach of his heart ... as Christ is spiritual meat so is he spiritually eaten and digested ... as in baptism, those that come feignedly and those that come unfeignedly both be washed with the sacramental water, but both be not washed with the Holy Ghost; so in the Lord's Supper both eat and drink sacramental bread and wine, but both eat not Christ himself, and be fed with his flesh and blood, but only those who receive the sacrament (2).

In this connection Cranmer condemns the custom of the papists to worship the host, asserting that priests have brought many to believe that this thing made with their own hands is their Creator and God. "For else what made the people to run from their seats to the altar, and from altar to altar, and from sakering (as they called it) to sakering, peeping, tooting, and gazing at that thing which the priest held up in his hands, if they thought not to honor that thing which they saw? What moved the priests to lift the sacrament so high over their heads? or the people to cry to the priest,

1. "Defence" .. p. 200. 2 Ibid pp. 200 ff.

'Hold up', and one man to say to another, 'Stoop down before', or to say, 'This day I have seen my Maker', and, 'I cannot be quiet except I see my Maker once a day'"? What was the cause of all these, and that as well the priests and people so devoutly did knock and kneel at every sight of the sacrament, but that they worshipped that visible thing which they saw with their eyes, and took it for very God?" (1).

Fourth, Cranmer repudiated the idea that priests offer Christ every day, and make of him a new sacrifice and propitiation for sin. These sentences are significant: "The greatest blasphemy and injury that can be against Christ... is this, that the priests make their mass a sacrifice propitiatory, to remit the sins as well of themselves, as of other both quick and dead to whom they list to offer the same.. Thus under pretence of holiness, the papistical priests have taken upon them to be Christ's successors, and to make such an oblation and sacrifice as never creature made but Christ alone, neither he made the same any more times than once, and that was by his death upon the cross ... One kind of sacrifice there is which ... pacifieth God's wrath and indignation, and obtaineth mercy and forgiveness for our sins... There is but one such sacrifice whereby our sins be pardoned .. which is the death of the Son of God, our Lord Jesu Christ; nor never was any other sacrifice propitiatory at any time, nor never shall be.

"They which gather of the doctors that the mass is a sacrifice for remission of sin and that it is applied by the priest to them for whom he saith or singeth do them (doctors) most grievous injury and wrong... these private masses sprang

up of late years, partly through the ignorance and superstition of unlearned monks and friars ... but chiefly of lucre and gain....the nature of man being ever prone to idolatry .. and the papists being ready by all means and policy to defend and extol the mass for their estimation and profit .. it is no wonder that abuses grew in the Church... as that if a man hear mass he shall lack no bodily sustenance that day .. nor lose his sight that day, nor die no sudden death; he shall not wax old in the time that he heareth mass, nor no wicked spirits shall have power over him, be he never so wicked a man, so long as he looketh upon the sacrament" (1).

One may safely say that the theory of Cranmer with regard to the Lord's Supper was one of complete opposition to the Roman theory, and that, under his influence, the Prayer Books and other formularies represented a position somewhere between the Lutheran and Zwinglian theories. This was largely, if not entirely, due to Cranmer's influence in his position as primate. Whatever other traces of Romanism may have remained in the Edwardian Church, it cannot be said that the sacrament of the Lord's Supper was not distinctly reformed. And while Cranmer may not be considered representative of the Church at the time of Elizabeth and the Stuarts, yet our purpose has been accomplished if we have shown that Cranmer defined and directed the thought of Protestantism in England even for a short time in its liberation from Romanism.

There is no need to examine deeply into Cranmer's conception of the other sacraments, since his general attitude

1. Extracted at random from the Fifth Book of the "Defence".

may be judged from the above discussion upon the Lord's Supper. However, he has made some fairly explicit statements which may be cited briefly. In reply to an interrogation as to what a sacrament was, according to Scripture, he said, "The Scripture showeth not what a sacrament is; nevertheless, where in the Latin text we have "sacramentum", there in the Greek we have "mysterium"; and so by the Scripture "Sacramentum" may be called "mysterium", id est, res occulta sive arcana". He stated further that "the ancient authors call a sacrament, "sacrae rei signum", or "visible verbum, symbolumque, atque pactio qua sumus constricti".(1).

As to the number of sacraments there are, and the validity of the generally accepted ones, these sentences may be typical of Cranmer's opinion : "The Scripture showeth not how many sacraments there be; but 'incarnatio Christi' and 'matrimonium' he called in the Scripture 'mysteria', and therefore we may call them by the Scripture 'sacramenta' ... By ancient authors there be many sacraments more than seven, for all the figures which signified Christ to come, or testify that he is to come, be called sacraments, as all the figures of the old law and the new law: 'eucharista', 'baptismus', 'pascha', 'dies Dominicus', 'lotio pedum', 'signum crucis', 'chrisma', 'matrimonium', 'ordo', 'sabbatum', 'impositio manuum', 'oleum', 'consecratio olei', 'lac', 'mel', 'aqua', 'vinum', 'sal', 'ignis', 'cineres', 'adapertio aurium', 'vestis candida', and all the parables of Christ, with the prophecies of the Apocalypse, and such other, be called by the doctors 'sacramenta'." Furthermore, he says, "I know no

reason why the word 'sacrament' should be attributed to the seven only. The determinate number of seven sacraments is no doctrine of Scripture".

Moreover, he says, "I find not in the Scripture the matter, nature, and effect of all those which we call the seven sacraments, but only ceratain of them; ad of baptism, in which we be regenerated and pardoned of our sin by the blood of Christ; of the Eucharist ... of penance also I find in the Scripture.. but not as we call it a sacrament. But the Scripture taketh penance for a pure conversion of a sinner in heart and mind from his sins unto God, making no mention of private confession of all deadly sins to a priest, nor of ecclesiastical satisfaction to be enjoyed by him; of matrimony ... that it is a means whereby God doth use the infirmity of our concupiscence to the setting forth of his glory... Of the matter, nature, and effect of the other three, that is to say, confirmation, order, and extreme unction, there is no matter of mention in the scripture" (1).

It is unfortunate, however, that Cranmer undertook to discover the meaning underlying the concept 'sacrament' by starting with the Latin antecedent 'sacramentum' and passing to the Greek equivalent for it in the New Testament, 'mysterium'. It would have been better to have discovered what Christ meant by those he instituted, and then reason to the meaning necessary in the Latin translation. As it was, Cranmer found himself compelled to include a great many, and one he cannot explain at all. "But one 'sacramentum' the Scripture maketh mention of which is hard to be revealed fully (as would to God it were!)

1. Ibid. II. pp. 115-117

and that is, 'mysterium iniquitatis' or 'mysterium meretricis magnae et bestae'.(1). Therefore we say that his method of reasoning involved him in difficulties which confused him with respect to the nature of all the sacraments, and prevented a clear conception and co-ordination of them in his writings.

1. Ibid. II. P. 115.

CHURCH AND STATE

Cranmer's conception of the relation of the Church to the State is probably the most significant, and certainly the most individual, of all his contributions to the theory and doctrine of the Church in England. Other reformers may have anticipated his views regarding the nature of the Church; others certainly evolved a more self-consistent and logical theory of the sacraments - though it remained for Cranmer to put into practice in the life of a nation principles which were but abstract theories in the teachings of others; but, as regards the relation of the Church and State, Cranmer gave form to a doctrine that was in actual practice quite unique in his day.

The English Reformation was not undertaken primarily for the sake of reforming doctrine and purifying the Church. Individuals and groups supporting the movement were not, in the main, religious enthusiasts, but were rather nationalists whose patience and submissiveness had finally become exhausted under the constant provocations of a Papal- Franco-Spanish alliance. When political conditions made necessary the English Reformation, the leader in that movement had already been honored by the Papacy with the title "Defender of the Faith", and certainly no serious thought was entertained at the time of challenging the entire basis of the Papacy.

Cranmer was an ideal primate for the Church in the

conditions that prevailed at the time when England threw off the yoke of Rome. He was himself an erastian and seems to have maintained that view consistently. That he was satisfactory to the king was evident from Henry's faithful support when Cranmer found himself opposed by forces politically more powerful than himself. On the other hand, Cranmer supported Henry and Edward because of his sincere belief in the wisdom and expediency of such a form of government for Church and State as they afforded. He was emphatic in his indignant denial that any other consideration than his own belief led him to play the part he did in the English Reformation. In the examination before Brokes, the Papal inquisitor, he branded as a lie the suggestion that his part was prompted by any other motive than that:

"Martin:- You declare well by the way that the king took you to be a man of good conscience, who could not find within all his realm any man that would set forth his atrange attempts, but was enforced to send for you in post to come out of Germany. What may we conjecture hereby, but that there was a compact between you, being Queen Anne's chaplain, and the king. "Give me the archbishoprick of Canterbury, and I will give you license to live in adultery".

Cranmer:- You say not true".(1).

The reformation was essentially a patriotic movement, in which the keynote was freedom from foreign domination and loyalty to the king, and the establishment under Henry VIII was built upon loyalty and patriotism. Every cleric and citizen had therefore to choose between the newly established Church and treason; and if some chose the former from insincere motives it is not to be wondered at. But no accusation

can fairly be brought against Cranmer for lack of faithfulness to the new principle, nor should he be censured for erastianism when it was the only possible alternative to the authority of Rome.

It seems fairly evident, however, that when Henry assented to the demands of the royalists to free the country from the foreign yoke, and seized upon the dispensing power of the pope to legalize his marriage with his sister-in-law as a pretext for rebelling, he had not taken into consideration many other issues involved in such a step. We have seen above that, even with the assistance of so learned a man as Cranmer to guide in the adaptations of primitive Christian practices, there were many adjustments yet to be made that defied peaceable settlement and adoption by all the clergy and the people. Provision for all the details of an alternative creed; preparation of a book of Prayer and formularies to take the place of the mass; defining of the legal status of the Church, now that the Canon Law had been overthrown; and the relation of the newly organized Church to the Civil Law and to authority: all these were difficulties Henry VIII and Cranmer had to face as a consequence of asserting what seemed a simple exercise of political rights in the Act of Supremacy.

Indeed to many clergy and laity alike it was a matter of indifference whether the head of the Church was the pope or the King of England. But it soon became evident that the political implications of a papal and a national headship of the Church were entirely different. Queen Ester came to the kingdom at no more opportune time than Cranmer to the helm of the

Church in England in its reorganization; and whatever his faults - and there are many obvious and grievous ones - he saw the dangers in the path of establishment, and, in spite of all opposition, led the Church onward in a manner that many later primates, with the path already indicated and the initial impulse provided, found to their evident chagrin that they could not equal.

If one may assume that Cranmer was honest in his own attitude - and I believe that modern and unprejudiced research will establish the fact that he was - and also grant that as archbishop of Canterbury he might never be unmindful of the fact that his influence and example were representative of the attitude of the entire Church; then it is safe to say that Cranmer's own actions should show clearly his conception of the relation of the Church and State to each other. Upon this assumption, there are abundant evidences in Cranmer's writings - although as compared to Ockham's and Wyclif's on the same matter his own seem very brief - of what he considered this relationship to be.

He speaks thus of the authority of Christian princes over the Church: "All Christian princes have committed unto them immediately of God the whole cure of all their subjects, as well concerning the administration of God's word for the cure of souls, as concerning the ministration of things political and civil governance. And in both these ministrations they must have sundry ministers under them, to supply that which is appointed to the several offices...the ministers of God's word under his majesty be the bishops, parsons, vicars,

and such other priests as be appointed by his highness to that ministration... and there is no more promise of God that grace is given in the committing of the ecclesiastical office, than in the committing of the civil office".

Moreover, he thus harmonizes the royal supremacy with the Apostolic Church: "In the apostles' time, when there were no Christian princes by whose authority ministers of God's word might be appointed, nor sins by the sword corrected, there was no remedy then for the correction of vice, or appointing of ministers, but only the consent of the Christian multitude among themselves, by an uniform consent to follow the advice of such persons whom God had most endued with the spirit of counsel and wisdom. And at that time, forasmuch as the Christian people had no sword nor governor amongst them, they were constrained of necessity to take such curates and priests as either they knew themselves to be meet thereunto, or else as were commended unto them by others that were so replete with the spirit of God ... that they ought even of very conscience to give credit unto them and accept such as by them were presented ... A bishop may make a priest by the Scriptures, and so may princes and governors also; and that by the authority of God committed to them and the people also by their election". (1).

The presuppositions which underlie the conduct of the people in the apostolic times referred to above are clearly those perceived by Ockham and Marsiglio. In many other instances than those just cited Cranmer has shown that the king owes protection and a just government to the people over whom

1 Ibid. II. p. 116.

God has set him as governor. There is no mysterious line of demarcation between things religious and political, but both are provinces of God's authority and of the people's interest. It therefore becomes evident, as one reads Cranmer's letters to Henry VIII and Edward VI, as well as to Queen Mary, that he had no hesitancy in laying on the heart of the king responsibility for the people's welfare. However opinionated and unreasonable Henry may have been, Cranmer was not afraid to point out to him his duty as a prince, and to remind him of his own faults. In the cases of Anne Boleyn and Catherine Howard, there was no other except Cranmer who dared to speak; but he reminded Henry of his own sinfulness, in the first instance, and in the second would certainly have succeeded in saving her life had not her post-nuptial infidelity been discovered, which disclosure made the charge one of treason and removed it entirely from the sphere of Cranmer's influence.

This obligation of a prince to his subjects could not be properly discharged by one who swore obedience to the pope. Cranmer most courageously reminded Queen Mary of this, while himself condemned of treason and awaiting death: " I learned by Dr. Martin, that at the day of your majesty's coronation you took an oath of obedience to the pope of Rome, and the same time you took another oath of this realm, to maintain the laws, liberties, and customs of the same. And if your majesty did make an oath to the pope, I think it was according to the other oath, which he useth to minister to princes; which is, to be obedient to him, to defend his person, to maintain his authority, honour, laws, lands, and privileges. And

if it be so (which I know not but by report), then I beseech your majesty to look upon your oath made to the crown and realm, and to expend and weigh the two oaths together, to see how they agree ... I fear me there be contradictions in your oaths". (1).

On the other hand, Cranmer had considerable to say about the duty of subjects to a prince. It has seemed to some that Cranmer placed this obligation above the subject's obligation to God and he has therefore been accused of doing what he knew to be wrong because the prince-head of the Church decreed it. This view is unfair to Cranmer, who believed that the subject's duty, even as a churchman, was to obey the king chosen to his office by God and the people. If he submitted, it was surely, in the case of such a man as Cranmer, that he respected the judgment of his sovereign and would not presume to set his own over against it.

However, let him speak for himself: "The bishops of Canterbury for the most part have crowned your (Edward VI's) predecessors, and anointed them kings in this land: yet it was not in their power to receive or reject them, neither did it give them authority to prescribe them conditions to take or leave their crowns... the solemn rites of coronation have their ends and utility, yet neither direct force nor necessity; they be good admonitions to put kings in mind of their duty to God, but no increasement of their duty. For they be God's anointed, not in respect of the oil which the bishop useth, but in consideration of their power which is ordained, of the sword which is authorized, of their persons which are elected

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by God... The oil, if added, is but a ceremony; if it be wanting, that king is yet a perfect monarch notwithstanding, and God's anointed as well as if he were unctioned.... not from the Bishop of Rome but as a messenger from my Saviour Jesus Christ, I shall most humbly admonish your royal majesty, what things your highness is to perform. You are God's vice-gerent within your own dominion, and to see, with your predecessor Josiah, God truly worshipped, etc. Being bound by my function to lay these things before your royal highness, the one as a sword, if you fulfil; the other as a judgment from God, if you neglect them; yet I openly declare before the living God, and here before these nobles of the land, that I have no commission to denounce your majesty deprived, if your highness miss in part, or in whole of these performances, much less to draw up indentures between God and your majesty, or say you forfeit your crown with a clause" (2).

In the Church and State, as he apparently conceives them, there is no check upon the conduct of a king. It seems suspiciously like selling out the rights of the citizenry and the Church, for which Ockham and Marsiglio warred so valiantly, to have the primate of the Church adopt so self-debasing an attitude as the above. Doubtless, however, Cranmer was aware that only a strongly centralized authority in the monarch could hold together the discordant elements in the political organization. But he should not therefore have forgotten that he was speaking as the highest acknowledged religious authority in the world for that kingdom. It is indeed surprising to find him advocating such passivity for the Church of God.

The attitude, however, is somewhat common for him. For instance, before Brokes, at Oxford, he said, "I have made an oath to the king and I must obey the king by God's law". By the Scripture the king is chief, and no foreign person in his own realm above him. There is no subject but to a king. I am a subject, I owe my fidelity to the crown"(1). Again, in the recantations, the genuineness of which we assume, he says; "For as much as the king's and Queen's majesties, by consent of their parliament, have received the pope's authority within this realm, I am content to submit myself to their laws therein, and to take the pope for chief head of this Church of England, so far as God's laws and the laws and customs of this realm will permit". This is probably the least disgraceful of the six so-called Recantacions. Should it be argued that the sentiment is not true to Cranmer's real belief, and that he later repudiated it, we gladly join in the opinion; but it should be pointed out that it was Cranmer's willingness to make even supreme matters of conscience subject to the will of the king that involved him in the shame of the recantations, for it was through the argument of his supposed duty to the queen that he was led to stumble.

1. Ibid. II. P. 213.

VI.
CONCLUDING SUMMARY

CONCLUDING SUMMARY

Throughout the present work the writer has constantly sought to assert its dual purpose: first, to trace the evolution of the theory and doctrine of the Church in England; and second, to attempt an estimate of the contribution of the three principals of this study to the theory and doctrine of that Church. In the course of this study it has been impossible to cite canons of councils and synods contemporaneous with Ockham, Wyclif, and Cranmer, and it has likewise been impossible to identify or discuss contributions from sources other than the three men studied. But it should not therefore be assumed that there was no such independent contribution. As a matter of fact, with the exception of Wyclif, it is quite possible that others as important in many respects as either Ockham or Cranmer might be found for their respective periods.

But the writer suggests a connection between these three men that may not be without significance in the study of the theory and doctrine of the Church. Ockham made certain definite contributions to the revision of the conception of the Nature of the Church, the Authority of the Holy Scriptures, and the Discipline of the Church. Furthermore, he expressed a conviction that the Church and the State should each admit the other's right to rule in its own sphere, and he denied to the Church authority to usurp privileges belonging by nature to the State. Moreover, Ockham suggested certain significant revisions of the sacramental theory of the time.

The writer was gratified to discover in the British Museum a list of the books contained in the library of Archbishop Cranmer, and also certain of the volumes of that library. As may be inferred from the above study of Cranmer, he was a man of considerable erudition, and he had collected a library rich in material concerning the Church Fathers and the Schoolmen. One of the British Museum's copies of Cranmer's library was a volume of Ockham's "Quodlibeta", which bears on its title page the name of Cranmer. Whether or not the name is an actual autograph could not be decided when the writer was engaged there, due to the absence through illness of the expert in the matter of Cranmer's signatures. However, the writer was assured that if it was not Cranmer's, it was at least that of his personal amanuensis and secretary.

The matter must not be over-emphasized, for, of course, his library contained many other books bearing the signature of Cranmer; yet it is surely not without significance that, in view of the marked similarity of Ockham's and Cranmer's views regarding the Nature of the Church, Authority, and the relation of the Church and State, the latter should have actually possessed this book written by the former.

Moreover, the same influence can be traced more clearly and others suggested by recalling the fact that Luther was an enthusiastic reader of Ockham. Melanchton, in his Life of Luther, states: "He (Luther) was taught the theology of John of Paltz by a colleague, Nathin of Neuenkirchen, under whose direction Luther became an ardent student of Biel, d'Ailly, and Ockam" (1). Elsewhere it is stated that Luther boasted

that he was of "der partei Ockams"; and in 1520 he is reported as saying, "sum Occamae^{ic} factionis". Certainly, as has been indicated in the body of the thesis, Luther obtained many suggestions for his doctrine of the Lord's Supper from Ockham. Now it is apparent that Ockham was less advanced and revolutionary in the matter of sacramental theory than in any of his other teachings. Therefore Luther must have also read and been influenced by Ockham's teachings concerning the Nature of the Church, the Authority of the Scriptures, and the independence of Church and State. Once one is thus satisfied that Luther was so influenced, it is not difficult to understand how Cranmer would develop an interest in Ockham, since he studied very carefully the teachings of all the Continental reformers, and came directly under the influence of Lutheranism. This, added to his possession of Ockham's book, seemed to suggest very strongly a bond of similarity between them.

That Cranmer was also influenced by Wyclif is evident from statements made in the controversy between himself and Gardiner concerning the Lord's Supper. The latter asserted the former would have difficulty in proving his teachings to be "catholic" in view of certain things, among which this is mentioned: "fouethly, Wickliff, not much above an hundred years past, enterprised the same, whose teaching God prospered not". In reply, Cranmer paid this tribute to Wyclif: "As for John Wycliff, he was a singular instrument of God in his time to set forth the truth of Christ's Gospel..." (1).

In another connection Gardiner stated, " Since Christ's time there is no memory more than of six, that have affirmed that doctrine which the author (Cranmer) would have called now the "catholic doctrine", and yet not written by them of one sort, neither received in belief in public profession; but scarcely, when it happened, begun by conspiracy, and in the end ever hitherto extinct and quenched. First was Bertram, then Berengarius, then Wyclif .." To this Cranmer replied that the doctrine of the Fathers until the time when Pope Nicholas II compelled Berengarius to make such a "devilish recantation" had been the catholic doctrine of the Church, and concluded by saying that "no man might speak one word against the bishop of Rome's determination herein, but he was taken for an heretic, and so condemned as Wyclif, Hus, and an infinite number more"(1).

The philosophical conception underlying Cranmer's idea of membership in the invisible Church may be clearly traced to Wyclif, as may also his intense desire that the people might have the Bible in their own language. It is only fair to say, however, that Cranmer shows no such philosophical knowledge of the foundations and principles of the Church, its government, and sacraments as does Wyclif. But one may observe how he took many of Wyclif's ideas which had been logically and metaphysically reasoned and established, and expressed their substance in the language and custom of the common people.

With regard to Wyclif's use of Ockham's arguments, it is apparent upon reading even a part of his voluminous writings that he drew from many other sources besides his immediate predecessors in the middle ages. Ockham is cited many times

in his writings. It is sufficient to remark that in most of the instances ideas which were somewhat germinal in the case of Ockham were brought to complete maturity and fruition by Wyclif. The doctrine of the Lord's Supper, to some extent the idea of the Authority of the Holy Scripture, the injustice of excommunication as administered, the right of Dominion upon which the king's authority rested: these were but a few of the instances in which Wyclif carried to logical completion and practical application the principles Ockham had established.

For the above reasons the writer was convinced that a certain amount of connection was evident between the writings of Ockham, Wyclif, and Cranmer, and that each might be considered typical of the age in which he lived.

In concluding, the contribution of each man and the progress of evolution in each subdivision of the theory and doctrine of the Church considered may be summarized as follows:

I. THE NATURE OF THE CHURCH

A. At the end of the thirteenth century:-

1. The Church was the "Congregatio fidelium".
2. The Pope was the vicar of Christ.
3. Outside the Church there was no salvation.

B. Ockham's contribution:-

1. The Church was the universal and apostolic community of believers.
2. True clergy practiced apostolic poverty

3. Canon Law and "tradition" were unnecessary to the Church.

C. Wyclif's contribution:-

1. Defined the Church as the "Universitas predestinatorum".
2. Divided the Church into three groups: the triumphant, the sleeping, and the militant.
3. Asserted there was salvation outside the visible Church, but not outside the invisible (holy catholic) body.
4. Asserted the doctrine of the Perseverance of Saints.
5. Admitted but little necessity for pope or episcopacy.

D. Cranmer's Contribution:-

1. Discarded the idea of Purgatory.
2. Denied entirely the need of a pope and an hierarchical organization.
3. Divided the Church into visible and invisible bodies.

II. AUTHORITY IN THE CHURCH

A. Thirteenth Century:-

1. Despite lack of conciliar definition to that effect, Scripture and "tradition" were considered of equal value.
2. The pope's interpretation of Scripture and definition of doctrine were final.

B. Ockham:-

1. The pope was not authoritative in matters of faith.
2. "Tradition" and Canon Law were likewise untrustworthy.
3. Councils, even General Councils, were fallible.
4. The Holy Scriptures were the sole infallible authority.

C. Wyclif:-

1. The Holy Scriptures should be in the hands of every Christian, that all might read and interpret without interference of the Roman Church.

D. Cranmer:-

1. Directed his profound scholarship against the re-assertion of "traditionalism" in the form of "Unwritten Verities".

III. GOVERNMENT AND DISCIPLINE

A. Thirteenth century:-

1. Episcopacy had been brought to a climax in Hierarchy.
2. Final disciplinary authority rested in the will of the pope.
3. Pope controlled independently certain monastic orders and certain universities.
4. There was unrestricted use of excommunications and the interdict.
5. Pope reserved the right to intervene in any nation or diocese.

B. Ockham:-

1. Opposed "plenitudo potestatis" claimed by the pope.
2. Made the individual, and not society, the end of all discipline
3. Subjected decisions of pope to review by General Council.
4. Urged that bishops exercise sole authority in their own dioceses.
5. Declared the pope may not excommunicate or interdict for heresy without the permission of a General Council.

C. Wyclif:-

1. Asserted Universal Priesthood of Believers, as opposed to distinction of clergy and laity.

2. Identified presbyters and bishops.
3. Denied that one can be excommunicated who has not first excommunicated himself by sin against God.
4. Denied authority of both papacy and episcopacy.
5. Asserted that only those were qualified to govern in Church and State who were "predestinati".

D. Cranmer:-

1. Retained episcopacy, with the King of England as "supreme head of the Church in England".
2. Prohibited unlicensed preaching.
3. Exercised excommunication and civil punishment for non-conformity.
4. Admitted original identity of bishops and presbyters.

IV. WORSHIP

A. Thirteenth century:-

1. Well developed ritual, with Mass, canonical hours, holy days, and Church feasts.
2. Preaching was almost negligible.
3. Attempt to instruct worshippers by pictures, images, etc.
4. Auricular confession was practiced.
5. Gregorian and Ambrosian music used in services.

B. Ockham:-

(No Contribution)

C. Wyclif:-

1. Opposed cathedrals and elegant churches at the expense of parish churches.
2. Opposed use of images and pictures.
3. Opposed auricular confession except to one's own vicar.
4. Advocated preaching, and trained and sent out preachers to instruct the people in the Bible.

D. Cranmer:-

1. Excluded entirely the use of the Mass, canonical hours, images, shrines, pictures beads, holy water, most fast and holy days, prayers for the dead, and Latin in the public worship.
2. Prepared a catechism for public instruction, and revised formularies.
3. Prepared and sponsored two Books of Common Prayer.
4. Elevated the standard of preaching, and insisted on more of it.
5. Dispensed with auricular confession.

V. SACRAMENTS

A. Thirteenth century:-

1. According to Thomas Aquinas, sacraments were "remedia" with visible signs. Upon reception they became effective 'ex opere operato' in the recipient.
2. There were seven sacraments.
3. In the Eucharist the corporal body of Christ was present in the host by a change called transubstantiation.
4. No sacrament except Baptism might be administered by anyone save a cleric.

B. Ockham:-

1. Questioned the true sacramental nature of Marriage.
2. Advanced a defence of transubstantiation that gave rise to Luther's doctrine of consubstantiation.

C. Wyclif:-

1. Denied magical properties of sacraments.
2. Defined a sacrament as "a visible sign of an invisible grace."
3. Declined to limit the number of sacraments to seven.

4. Refused to grant Confirmation, Orders, Penance, and Extreme Unction equal rank with others.
5. Denied transubstantiation, and the real presence in the Romish sense.
6. Asserted that sacraments are not indispensable^a to salvation.

D. Cranmer:-

1. Considered a sacrament anything characterized in the Bible by the Greek "mysterium", the word translated "sacramentum" in Latin version.
2. Found, therefore, a great many sacraments in Bible.
3. Placed Baptism and the Eucharist on a different plane from others.

VI. THE RELATION OF CHURCH AND STATE

A. Thirteenth century:-

1. Church ^{claimed} exercised control of the "two swords".
2. Kings ruled by virtue of the consent and crowning of the pope.
3. The State was subject to the Church in all matters of conflicting authority.
4. Canon Law was superior to, and took precedence over, Civil Law.

B. Ockham:-

1. The State was established because man fell from a condition of natural law.
2. The end of all government is the good of the people.
3. The people may elect and recall from office both king and pope, who are unworthy or heretical.
4. King may depose pope and pope may depose king if the one deposed is unworthy of his office.

C. Wyclif:-

1. Civil Law is supreme in every case where it does not conflict with Divine Law (not Church Law).
2. Only the "predestinati" have real title to possessions, lordship, dominion, and governing authority.
3. Kings are called of God to rule in temporal things, just as religious leaders to rule in spiritual things.

D. Cranmer:-

1. Held the "Divine Right of Kings".
2. Submitted the Church to the direction of the king.
3. Denied absolutely the right of the Church to interfere in the affairs of the State, and disowned the authority of the pope or any other foreign potentate.
4. Determined in the establishment under Edward VI what became, except for the brief interregnum of Mary and Philip, the final attitude of the Church in England.

APPENDIX A.

Chronological Arrangement
of the most important
COUNCILS and **SYNODS**
of the
CHRISTIAN CHURCH
450-1600 A. D.

(Names and dates in red ink indicate English Councils)

APPENDIX

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400 A.D.	Fifth Century				
<u>I.</u>		<u>II.</u>	<u>III.</u>	<u>IV.</u>	<u>V.</u>
Toledo	00	Selucia	10	Alexand'a	30
Milan	01	Carthage	11	Rome	30
Africa	01	Antioch	21	Ephesus	31
Cyprus	01			Antioch	31
Ephesus	01			Arca	31
Turin	01				
Rome	02	Citra	12		Aries 42
Milevis	02				Vaison 42
Africa	03		Cilicia	23	Antioch 33
Quercum					
ad.	03				
Constant.	03				
		Ctesiphon	14	Africa	24
Toledo	05	Diospolis	15	Anazarba	35
Africa	05			Antioch	35
		Milevis	16	Hippo	26
		Carthage	16		
Africa	07	Carthage	17	Constant.	27
		Rome	17		
		Zella	18		Constan. 48
		Africa	18		
		Carthage	19	St. Albans	29
				Gaul	29
				Arles	29
<u>VI.</u>		<u>VII.</u>	<u>VIII.</u>	<u>IX.</u>	<u>X.</u>
Constant.	50				
Ispahan	50				
Arles	51	Tours	61		
Chalcedon	51				
Gaul	51				
Milan	51				
Angers	53				
Jerusalem	53				
				Rome	84
Arles	55	Rome	65	Arles	75
		Vannes	65		
Ireland	56				
					Rome 96
				Rome	87
Isauria	58		Constant.	78	
Constant.	59				Rome 99

APPENDIX

500 A.D.		Sixth Century		278
<u>I.</u>	<u>II.</u>	<u>III.</u>	<u>IV.</u>	<u>V.</u>
		Victoria 20	Valencia 30	
Rpme	01	Orleans 11	Rome 31	Orleans 41
Rpme	02			
		Aguane 23	Constant. 33	
			Auvergne 33	
			Orleans 33	
		Valentia 24		
		Junca 24	Rome 34	
		Arles 24		
		Lerida 24		
		Carthage 25	Theven 35	
			Clermont 35	
			Carthage 35	
Agde	06	Tarragone 16	Palestine 36	
		Synnada 16	Constant. 36	
		England 16	Jerusalem 36	
		Lyons 17		Constant. 47
		Gerona 17		
		Epaone 17		
		Constantin 18	Suffretum 28	
		Jerusalem 18	Constant. 38	
			Aquileia 38	
			Orleans 38	
		Brevy 19	Vaison 29	Orleans 49
			Orange 29	
<u>VI.</u>	<u>VII.</u>	<u>VIII.</u>	<u>IX.</u>	<u>X.</u>
Mopsuestia 50	Llandaff 60			Seville 90
	Braga 60			Metz 90
				Rome 90
			Macon 81	
		Braga 72		Saragossa 92
		Lugo 72		
Constant. 53		Paris 73	Lyons 83	Poitiers 93
Jerusalem 53				
Arles 54				
			Macon 85	Rome 95
			Auxerre 85	
	Tours 66			
Paris 57	Lyons 67	Paris 77		Toledo 97
Aquileis 58			Constant. 88	Huesca 98
	Lugo 69	Nantes 79	Toledo 89	Barcelona 99
			Narbonne 89	

APPENDIX

600. A. D.

Seventh Century

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<u>I.</u>		<u>II.</u>	<u>III.</u>	<u>IV.</u>	<u>V.</u>			
Rome	00	Rome	10	Leighlin	30			
		Toledo	10					
Augustine's								
Oak	01							
Chalons	03			Toledo	33			
Canterbury	93							
England	03							
			Rheims	24	Jerusalem	34		
		Egarensen	15			Africa	45	
		Paris	15					
Rome	06			Toledo	36	Africa	46	
						Toledo	46	
			Macon	27				
		Seville	18	Toledo	38			
			Theodosio-					
			polis	29	Rome	39	Lateran	49
							Chalons	49
<u>VI.</u>		<u>VII.</u>	<u>VIII.</u>	<u>IX.</u>	<u>X.</u>			
Rouen	50	Nantes	60	Constant.	80			
				Hatfield	80			
				Toledo	81	Saragossa	91	
						Constant.	91	
						Beccau-		
						celd	92	
						Barcelona	92	
Toledo	53		Hertford	73	Toledo	83	England	93
							Toledo	93
		Whitby	64		Toledo	84	Toledo	94
					Ireland	84		
Toledo	55		Braga	75				
			Toledo	75				
Toledo	56	Merida	66				Bergham-	
							stead	96
			Autun	77				
			Rome	78	Ina	88		
					Toledo	98		
			Hethfeld	79				

APPENDIX

700 A. D.		Eighth Century		280	
<u>I.</u>	<u>II.</u>	<u>III.</u>	<u>IV.</u>	<u>V.</u>	
		Rome	Constant. 30		
			Rome	32	Cloves-
					Hoo 42
Rome	03				Germany 42
Nester-					
Field	03				
					Soissons 44
					Rome 44
Constant.	05				Rome 45
Nid	05				
		Jerusalem	26		
					Cloves-
					Hoo 47
Alne	09				
<u>VI.</u>	<u>VII.</u>	<u>VIII.</u>	<u>IX.</u>	<u>X.</u>	
					Aquileia 91
					Narbonne 91
					Ratisbon 92
					Rome 92
Verberie	53				
Constant.	54	Rome	74		Frankfort 94
Vernum	54				
	Attigny sur				
	Aisen	65			
Compeigne	56		Cealchy-		
			the	85	
			Constant	86	Ratisbon 96
					Friuli 96
					Gentilly 96
					Beccau-
					celd 96
		Paderborn	77	Nicea	87
	Rome	69			
					Rome 99
					Finchall 99
					Aik la
					Chapelle 99

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800 A. D.

Ninth Century

<u>I.</u>	<u>II.</u>	<u>III.</u>	<u>IV.</u>	<u>V.</u>
Cloves-				
Hoo 00				
Aix la		Cloves-		
Chalelle 02		Hoo 22		Constant. 42
Altino 02		Attigny 22		
		Thion-		
Cloves-		ville 22		
Hoo 03	Tours 13			
	Mayence 13			
	Chalons 13			
	Arles 13			
		Cloves-		
	Ratisbon 14	Hoo 24		Vernueil 44
				Thionville 44
	Conatant. 15	Paris 25	Thionville 35	Morris 44
		Aix 25	Metz 35	Beauvais 45
Salzburg 06	Caelchyt 16	Mantua 26	Aix 36	Meaux 45
	Aix 16	Rome 26		
	Aix 17			Paris 47
				Mayence 47
			Kingston 38	Bretagna 48
				Mayence 48
Aix 09	Rheims 19	Worms 29	Cordova 39	Mayence 49
		Paris 29		Paris 49
				Quiercy 49
<u>VI.</u>	<u>VII.</u>	<u>VIII.</u>	<u>IX.</u>	<u>X.</u>
Pavia 50	Tousi 60	Attigni 70		
Benningdon 51	Lateran 61	Douzi 71	Fismes 81	
Kingbury 51	Schira-			
	chavan 62			
	Rome 62			Vienne 92
Quiercy 53	Rome 63	Senlis 73		
Rome 53	Rome 63			
Soissons 53				
		Douzi 74		
Valence 55				
				Llandall 95
Winchester 56	Soissons 66	Poynton 76		Tribur 95
		Pavia 76		Rome 96
	Constant. 67	Oviedo 77	Cologne 87	
	Troies 67	Ravenna 77		
Constant. 58	Rome 68	Troies 78	Mayence 88	Rome 98
Quiercy 58	Worms 68		Mwtz 38	Ravenna 98
Savoniers 59	Constanti 69	Rome 79		
Metz 59	Verberie 69	Constant. 79		Compos-
Langres 59				Tella 99
Touls 59				
Tousi 59				

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900 A. D.					282
<u>I.</u>	<u>III.</u>	<u>III.</u>	<u>IV.</u>	<u>V.</u>	
,Constant 01					
		Coblenz 22	Erfurt 32		
			Ratisbon 32		
		Gratlea 25			
		Exeter 26			
St. Tiber- ias 07				Verdun 47	
England 08				Ingle- heim 48	
				Mouson 48	
				Treves 48	
				Westmin- ster 48	
Trosle 09					
Soissons 09					
<u>VI.</u>	<u>VII.</u>	<u>VIII.</u>	<u>IX.</u>	<u>X.</u>	
Llandaff 50				Anse 90	
		Westmin- ster 71		Canter- bury 91	
Augsburg 52				Rheims 91	
	Brentford 63			Rome 93	
	Rome 63				
	Winchester 65	Winches- ter 75		Mouson 95	
				St. Denys 96	
	Ravenna 67	Kirtling- ton 77		Ravenna 97	
	Winches- ter. 68		Llandaff 88	Rome 98	
England 69	Calne 79	Charroux 89			

APPENDIX

1000 A. D.

Eleventh Century

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<u>I.</u>		<u>II.</u>		<u>III.</u> Leon	<u>IV.</u>	<u>V.</u>	
		Bamberg	11	Winches- ter	20 21	Bourges Limoges	31 31
France	02			Pavia	22		
				Orléans	22		
				Selingsted	22		
Poitiers	04	Ravenna	14				
		Habam	14				
				Anse	25		
				Arras	25		
						Sutri	46
						Paris	46
				Vique	27		
				Elne	27	Rome	47
Eanham	08			Charroux	28		
				Mayence	28		
				Limoges	29		
						Rouen	49
						Rome	49
						Rheims	49
						Mayence	49
<u>VI.</u>		<u>VII.</u>		<u>VIII.</u>		<u>IX.</u>	
Paris	50	Avignon	60	Windsor	70	Bordeaux	80
Brionne	50	Tours	60	Winchester	70	Brixon	80
Coyanza	50			Westminst,	70	Burgos	80
Rome	50					Lille-	
Vercelli	50	Compo-				bonne	80
Rome	51	stella	61	Winchester	71	Rome	81
Vezelai	51	Rome	61	Mayence	71		
		Angers	62	Winchester	72		
		Arragon	62	Rouen	72		
		Lugo	62				
		Chalons	62				
		Lucca	62				
		Jaca	63	Rome	73	Rome	83
		Rouen	63	Poitiers	73		
Narbonne	54			Rome	74	Constant.	84
Constant.	54			Rouen	74	Rome	84
Florence	55	Westmins.	65	Mayence	75	Quedlin-	
Narbonne	55	Rome	65	Westmins,	75	burg	85
Lyons	55	Autun	65				
Tours	55						
Llandaff	56			Worms	76	Cairo	86
Toulouse	56			Winchester	76		
Rome	57	Mantua	67	Autun	77	Benevento	87
		Gerona	68	Poitiers	78	Husillos	88
		Barcelona	68	Rome	78		
Rome	59	Auch	68	Rome	79	Melfi	89
						Rome	99
						St.Omer	99

APPENDIX

1100 A.D.	Twelfth Century				284
<u>I.</u>	<u>II.</u>	<u>III.</u>	<u>IV.</u>	<u>V.</u>	
Anse 00		Beauvais 20	Etampes 30	Sens 40	
Poitiers 00		Napoli 20			
Valence 00					
Westmins.02	Lateran 12	Soissons 21	Rheims 31		
		Worms 22	Placenza 32		
		Lateran 23	Rome 33	Westmins.43	
				Constant.43	
				London 43	
Troies 04	Strigonia 14		Pisa 34	Rome 44	
Beaugene	Beauvais 14				
cia 04	Leon 14				
	Windsor 14				
Thuringia05	Rheims 15				
Lateran 05	Soissons 15				
Guastalla06	Lateran 16	Westmins. 26	Westmins.36	Vezelai 46	
Florence 06		Westmins. 26		Charters 46	
Fleury 07					
Troies 07					
Westmins.07		Westmins. 27		Etampes 47	
				Paris 47	
				Keiff 47	
Westmins.08	Rouen 18	Troies 28	Westmins.38	Holmpat-	
	Constant. 18	Ravenna 28	Carlisle 38	rick 48	
				Rheims 48	
	Toulouse 19	Chalons 29	Wincheste39		
	Rheims 19		Lateran 39		
<u>VI.</u>	<u>VII.</u>	<u>VIII.</u>	<u>IX.</u>	<u>X.</u>	
Constant.50	Oxford 60			Rouen 90	
	Agnani 60				
	Pavia 60				
	Newmarket 61	Constant. 71			
	Toulouse 61	Cashel 71			
Kells 52	Montpellier62	Avranches 72			
Beaugenci52					
	Tours 63				
	Rheims 64		Verona 84		
	Clarendon 64				
	Nor'ampton64				
	Aix 65	Westmins. 75	Westmins.85	Montpellier 95	
Constant.56	Constant. 66	Westmins. 76	Dublin 86	York 95	
	Westmins. 66	N'ampton 76	Paris 86		
		Lombez 76			
		Halle 76			
		Dublin 76			
Chicheste57		Edinburgh 77	Scotland 87		
Rheims 57		Tassus 77			
Waterford58	Lateran 68	Venice 77	Mans 88		
		Lateran 79	Pipewell 89	Vienne 99	
				Sens 99	
				Dalmatia 99	

APPENDIX

1200 A. D.	Thirteenth Century				285
<u>I.</u>	<u>II.</u>	<u>III.</u>	<u>IV.</u>	<u>V.</u>	
Westmins.00	Paris	10 Durham	20	Wexford 40	
Paris 01			Chateau-Gontier 31	Worcester40	
Perth 02	Perth 12	Oxford 22	Rouen 31	Tarragona42	
	Paris 13	Rouen 23	St. Quentin 33		
	Lavour 13		Noyon 33		
			Mayence 33		
	Dunstable 14	Montpellier24	Arles 34		
			Besiers 34		
			Nymphoeum34		
	Lateran 15	Bourges 25	Senlis 35	Lyons 45	
	Montpellier15	Mayence 25	Compeigne35		
			Narbonne 35		
	Bristol 16	Paris 26	Tours 36	Besires 46	
	Melun 16			Catalonia46	
Oxford 07		Narbonne 27	Westmins.37		
		Rome 27	Cognac 38		
		Valladolod28	Westmins.38	Valence 48	
Avignon 09	Toulouse 19	Touloumse 29	Tours 39		
		Westmins. 29	Tarragona39		
		Westminst.29	Cairo 39		
<u>VI.</u>	<u>VII.</u>	<u>VIII.</u>	<u>IX.</u>	<u>X.</u>	
	Paris 60		Bourges 80	Ely 90	
	Nicea 60		Cologne 80	Embrun 90	
	Cologne 60		Constant.80		
	Cognac 60				
Lille 51	Mayence 61		Paris 81	Salzburg 91	
	Lambeth 61		Lambeth 81	Westmins.91	
	Arles 61		Salzburg 81	Milan 91	
	Gerona 61			Trim 91	
York 52	Constant, 62		Avignon 82	Chicheste92	
	Cognac 62		Tours 82	Tarragone92	
Saumur 53		Rennes 73	Constant.83		
Albi 54	Nantes 64	Lyons 74	Nismes 84	Saumur 94	
		Gerona 74			
		Salzburg 74			
Bordeaux 55	N'hampton 65	Arles 75	Riez 85		
Durham 55					
Cognac 55					
Paris 55					
Westmins.55	Constant. 66	Saumur 76	Ravenna 86		
Sens 56	Cologne 66	Bourges 76	Bourges 86	Grado 96	
		Durham 76	Westmins.86		
			Macon 86		
	Seden 67	Compeigne 77	Milan 87	Westmuns.97	
	Vienne 67	Constant. 77	Exeter 87		
Montpelie58	Breslau 68	Langeis 78	Lille 88		
Ruffec 58	Westmins. 68	Buda 79	Isle 88		
		Reading 79		Rouen 99	
		Avignon 79		Besiers 99	

APPENDIX

1300 A. D.

Fourteenth Century

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<u>I.</u>	<u>II.</u>	<u>III.</u>	<u>IV.</u>	<u>V.</u>
Cologne 00	Salzburg 10	Sens 20	Lambeth 30	
	Besiers 10			
	Cologne 10			
	Mayence 10			
	Paris 10			
	Ravenna 10			
	Senlis 10			
	Treves 10			
	Ravenna 11			Constant. 41
	Vienne 11			
Pennafiel 02	Vienne 12	Oxford 22		Westmins. 42
Paris 02		Vallado- 22		
Ronce 02		lid 22		
		Paris 23		Westmins. 43
Compeigne 04	Ravenna 14	Toledo 24	Nymphoeum 34	Noyon 44
Mebton 05	Nogara 15		Rouen 35	Constant. 45
	Saumur 15			
	Senlis 15	Marsiac 26		
	Adana 16	Senlis 26		Paris 46
		Alcala 26		Prague 46
	Ravenna 17	Avignon 26		
Sis 07	Bologna 17	Ruffec 27	Avignon 37	
	Tarragona 17	Avignon 27		
Lucca 08		Westmins. 28		
Udvards 09		Tarragona 29	Toledo 39	
Presburg 09				
<u>VI.</u>	<u>VII.</u>	<u>VIII.</u>	<u>IX.</u>	<u>X.</u>
Padua 50				
Besiers 51				
Lambeth 51				
	Lambeth 62		Oxford 82	
	Magfield 62		Westmins. 82	
	Thorpe 63			
	York 63			
		Narbonne 74		
	Apt 65	Uwienon 75		Paris 95
	Angers 65			
			Salzburg 86	Tours 96
				Westmins. 96
	Lambeth 67	Lambeth 77		
	Lambeth 68	Glouces- 78	Palevcia 88	Paris 98
		ter		
			St. Tiber- 89	
			ias	

APPENDIX

1400 A. D.	Fifteenth Century				287
<u>I.</u>	<u>II.</u>	<u>III.</u>	<u>IV.</u>	<u>V.</u>	
			Westmins.30	Freising-	
			Narbonne 30	hen 40	
			Basel 31		
	Rome 12		Bourges 32	Rome 42	
	Rome 13	Cologne 23		Jerusalem43	
		Pavia 23			
		Sienna 23			
	Constance 14		Westmins.34	York 44	
	Westmins.15	Copenhagen25		Rouen 45	
Hamburg 06	Westmins.16				
Prague 08	Salzburg 18		Ferrara 38	Tours 48	
Paris 08	Lerida 18		Bourges 38	Angers 48	
Oxford 08					
Pisa 09		Paris 29	Florence 39	Lyons 49	
Aquileia 09		Tortosa 29	Canter- bury 39	Lausanne 49	
<u>VI.</u>	<u>VII.</u>	<u>VIII.</u>	<u>IX.</u>	<u>X.</u>	
Constant. 50					
Mayence 51			Bruges 81		
	Westmins.63	Arenda 73			
		Toledo 73			
			Sens 85		
Soissons 56	York 66		Westmins.86		
Lambeth 57					
Avignon 58					

APPENDIX

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1500 A. D.

Sixteenth Century

<u>I.</u>	<u>II.</u>	<u>III.</u>	<u>IV.</u>	<u>V.</u>
Moscow 99	Tours 10			
	Pisa 11			
	Milan 11			
	Lateran 12			
		Mexico 24	Mexico 34	
				Trent 45
			Cologne 36	
		Lyons 27		Westmins 47
	Dublin 18	Bourges 28		Treves 48
		Paris 28		Augsburg 48
Avignon 09				Treves 49
				Mayence 49
				Cologne 49
<u>VI.</u>	<u>VII.</u>	<u>VIII.</u>	<u>IX.</u>	<u>X.</u>
		Malines 70	Westmins. 80	Toulouse 90
Moscow 51	Poissi 61	Westmins. 71	Rouen 81	
Narbonne 51				
Edinburgh 52	Westmins. 62	Westmins. 72	Milan 82	
Westmins. 52				
Linlith-		Florence 73	Bordeaux 83	Brestia 93
gow 53		Milan 73	Angers 83	Constant. 93
Westmins. 53			Tours 83	
			Lima 83	
			Rheims 83	
Westmins. 54	Rheims 64		Bourges 84	Aquileia 94
Canterb. 54			Westmins. 84	Avignon 94
Drogheda 54	Toledo 65	Westmins. 75	Mexico 85	
Westmins. 55	Cambrai 65		Goa 85	
	Milan 65			
Lowitz 56	Braga 66	Milan 76	Westmins. 86	Salerno 96
Vienne 57	Goa 67			Westmins. 97
Westmins. 57				
			Westmins. 88	
Edinburg 59	Milan 69	Milan 79		
Westmins. 59				